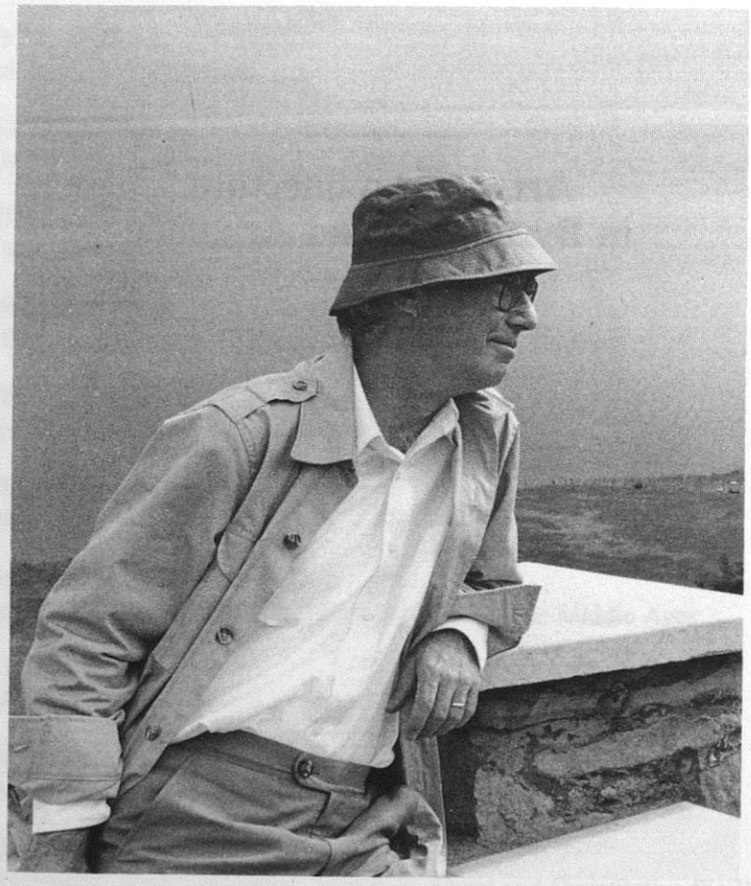

Professor Thomas F. Mathews
(Photo: Annie-Christine Daskalakis)

Thomas F. Mathews

Art and Architecture in Byzantium and Armenia

Liturgical and Exegetical Approaches

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PREFACE

The following studies fall into four groups: I-III concern architecture and liturgy; IV-VI are archaeological reports on three key churches; VII-X treat questions of iconography; and XI-XIV deal with church decoration and the cult of images. (II is presented for the first time in English and the pages are re-numbered). All fourteen studies address works of a religious character, which is not surprising, given the nature of the surviving monuments of Byzantium and Armenia. But what holds them together (apart from the three archaeological reports whose goal is generally factual) is the quest for an interpretation of their use in cult and devotion. For while all art is patient of many different readings--political, sociological, economic--it is my belief that the art historian must begin by reading its first level of meaning. Temples of worship and the images that fill them are first of all documents of the history of religion. Until we have grasped their spiritual dimensions we have not begun to account for them on their own terms.

To the Orthodox the liturgy was the epitome of the religious experience both as center of community worship and as site of one's personal encounter with the divine. Whether you wanted to make a king or insure your own insertion into the list of the elect, you had recourse to church ceremony. The liturgical calendar of feasts and fasts embraced the seasons of the year, and the liturgical map of shrines and processional routes cast a net of connections over the countryside. The result was a cohesion of life that a modern society of individualists has trouble comprehending.

Within the large discipline of liturgical studies it is the public or theatrical dimension of worship that interests the art historian, more than the texts themselves or the strictly theological aspects of the subject. The texts were always the special preserve of an ecclesiastical elite and may not always have been understood by the laity. The celebration, however, had a shape or contour as a dramatic ceremonial action that was intensely experienced by all who took part. This shape had a history and evolution of its own; it defined the uses of the architectural vessel in which it was contained, and it ennunciated the symbolism that governed the images.

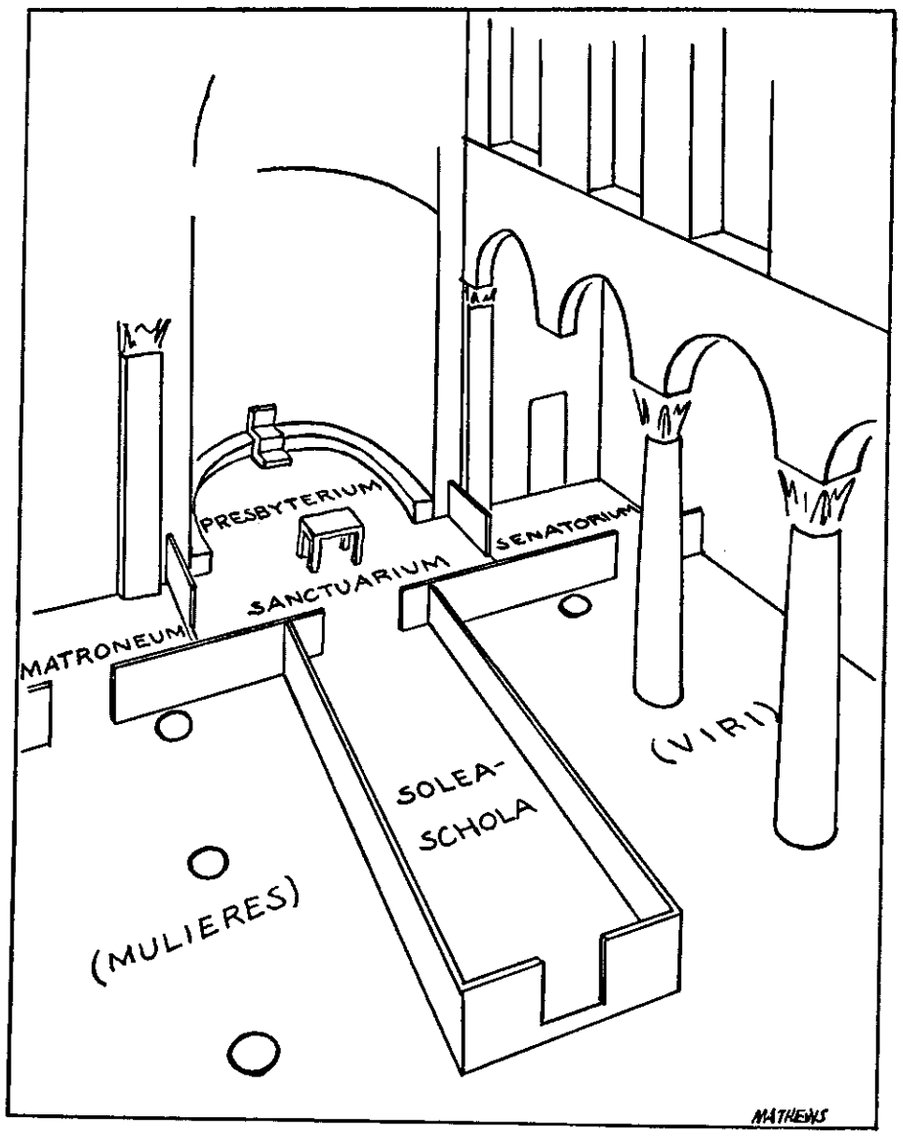

Fig. 1

whatever arrangements preceded this were already out-moded by the development of the liturgy. The survival of this arrangement down to the ninth century at S. Marco, Sta. Maria Antiqua and S. Stefano in Via Latina, and even later at S. Clemente, is an indication of how satisfactory it proved to be.

By way of resumé, the chancel arrangement we have tried to establish may be summarized in the following scheme (fig. 1):

	senatorium ⟶	(*viri*)
presbyterium	*sanctuarium*	*solea-schola*
	matroneum ⟶	(*mulieres*)

The presbytery was located in the apse; in front of this a set of barriers marked of a rectangular sanctuary for the altar site; in front of this a pair of walls reached into the nave to enclose a processional area (*solea-schola*) which figured principally in the ceremonies of pontifical entrance and exit, but was also connected with the reading of Scripture; either side of the sanctuary a barrier set of areas for the presentation of gifts in the offertory procession and for the reception of the Eucharist (*senatorium* and *matroneum*).

II

Architecture and Liturgy in the Earliest Palace Churches of Constantinople

The preference for domed, central-plan structures has long been recognized as the starting point for Byzantine architecture, but the reasons for this preference remain controversial. Most recently the controversy has focused on the palace-church hypothesis of Richard Krautheimer.[1] In his pioneering survey of the entire field of Early Christian and Byzantine architecture, Krautheimer points to a series of prominent octagonal or central-plan churches -- Constantine's Golden Octagon in Antioch, the Arian emperor's S. Lorenzo in Milan, Justinian's Ss. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople, and ultimately Charlemagne's palatine chapel -- and proposes that their intimate association with the person of the emperor may explain the line of continuity among these monuments. Is it not possible that palace churches, or churches designed especially for the emperor's use, constituted a separate tradition in Early Christian and Byzantine architecture which, by reason of the influence of imperial patronage, played a key role in the formation and development of Byzantine architecture?

Of course the existence of a tradition of central-plan imperial churches must be established historically and archeologically if Krautheimer's hypothesis is to be more than mere hypothesis. Two of the principal monuments in the series have already been seriously questioned. F. W. Deichmann has recently argued that the Golden Octagon of Antioch cannot be counted a palace church on the grounds that it was the cathedral of the city,[2] and Cyril Mango has denied the palace character of Ss. Sergius and

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[1] R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Baltimore, Md., 1965), pp. 166-168.

[2] F. W. Deichmann, "Das Oktagon von Antiocheia: Heroon-Martyrion, Palastkirche oder Kathedrale," *BZ* 65 (1972), pp. 40-56.

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Universität München

Bacchus on the grounds that it was simply a monastic church, and that monophysite.[3]

The question is admittedly a very broad one geographically, and a "tradition" properly speaking cannot be established except by examining the available evidence of all the imperial centers of the Early Christian world. In the present paper I propose to examine only one such center, Constantinople. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that all the other administrative centers of the Late Empire were eventually abandoned in favor of the centralization of Byzantine rule on the Bosphorus, the evidence from Constantinople is of critical importance.

The evidence from Constantinople is also, fortunately, rather plentiful. Three churches can be singled out for discussion. In addition to Ss. Sergius and Bacchus, which, I believe, must be counted a palace church in every sense of the term, we can also examine the Church of St. John the Baptist at the Jucundianae Palace in Hebdomon, the octagonal plan of which was uncovered in excavations, and the principal palace church, St. Stephen in the Daphne Palace. The evidence of St. Stephen is the weakest since the remains of the church have never been found; but the information available in literary sources is too valuable to omit from our study.

The discussion of "palace churches" in the strict sense of the term involves three considerations. First one must examine what the relationship of each church was to the palace to which it belonged. It is reasonable to assume that a church belonging to the palace would have been designed to fit the palace and the requirements of such design might have differed from the requirements of standard church design. In the second place one must ask what kind of ceremonial was observed in the palace church and whether the ceremonial differed substantially from that of standard public churches of the day. Thirdly one must ask what was the plan of the church itself. The three churches can be considered separately except reguarding the coronation rite where our information on St. John in Hebdomon and St. Stephen in Daphne overlaps somewhat.

[3] C. Mango, "The Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople and the Alleged Tradition of Octagonal Palatine Churches," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 21 (1972), pp. 189-193.

I

The history of St. Stephen in Daphne is easily summarized.[4] In 428 the energetic empress Pulcheria, on a relief mission to the poor in Jerusalem, was given the precious relic of the hand of St. Stephen. On her return to the capital, encouraged by a vision of the protomartyr, she founded the church in his honor in the Daphne Palace and deposited the relic there.[5] A half-century later the emperor Zeno added other relics of the Apostolic era, the remains of St. Barnabas, disciple of St. Paul, and a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel written, it was believed, in Barnabas' own hand.[6] References to the church multiply in the Heracleian and Isaurian dynasties when the church apparently enjoyed its greatest popularity. In the Macedonian era the new palace church of the Mother of God of Pharos, with its important relics of the Passion of Christ, began to eclipse St. Stephen and some of its ceremonies were transferred there. After the Latin Conquest St. Stephen is not mentioned again in the sources; evidently it was destroyed or allowed to fall into ruin without being rebuilt because the late Byzantine emperors preferred to reside at the Blachernes rather than the Great Palace.

To understand St. Stephen it is important to establish its relationship to the plan of the palace. This has been attempted a number of times by the "armchair archaeologists" who, working from literary sources alone, have tried to reconstruct the layout of the entire Great Palace of Constantinople.[7]

[4] St. Stephen in Daphne has never been the subject of any thorough study, but the principle facts of its history are summarized in J. Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1921), pp. 18-19; A. Vogt, *Le Livre des Cérémonies* (Paris, 1935, 1939), I, part 2, p. 27; R. Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin* (Paris, 1969), pp. 473-474; R. Guilland, *Études de topographie de Constantinople byzantine* (Berlin, 1969), pp. 499-504.

[5] Theophanes (ed. de Boor), I, pp. 86-87; Cedrenus (Bonn), p. 592).

[6] Georgius Monachus (ed. de Boor), II, p. 619; Cedrenus (Bonn), I, pp. 618-619.

[7] J. Labarte, *Le Palais impérial de Constantinople et ses abords* (Paris, 1861); J. Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople et le Livre des Cérémonies* (Paris, 1910); A. Vogt, *Le Livre des Cérémonies* (Paris, 1935, 1939); S. Miranda, *Les Palais des Empereurs byzantins* (Mexico City, 1965); his plan is re-printed in R. Guilland, *op. cit.*

It is disappointing to observe that even though these reconstructions differ widely among themselves, none of them has observed the basic facts that are reported on St. Stephen. Instead, the assumption made by Vogt seems implicit in the planning of all these reconstructions, namely that we are dealing simply with a standard parish church simply inserted into the palace plan.[8] Nothing could be more misleading.

Founded by Constantine, the Daphne Palace formed the original nucleus of the Great Palace which sprawled over the slopes of the Marmara south and east of the Hippodrome (figure 1).[9] While other parts of the palace were intended for display, for entertainment, for government, or for quartering of staff, the Daphne was primarily the residence of the emperor. The sequence of chambers in the Daphne is recounted over and over in the *Book of Ceremonies*.[10] After leaving the more public parts of the palace, such as the Tribunal or the Consistorium, the emperor would enter the Daphne by way of a narrow corridor called the Golden Hand. This led to a *triclinos* or reception hall called the Augusteus, from which one passed into the Octagon, which was the center of the emperor's home. Here he would take leave of his staff, here he would lay aside the robes and crown of his office, and here he could retire directly into his adjoining bedroom. From the Octagon he could also enter directly into St. Stephen.

The relationship of St. Stephen to the Octagon is one of the few reliable facts known about the church, but it is completely disregarded in the reconstructions. Vogt and Miranda placed the Octagon in back of, that is off the apse of the church; Ebersolt placed the church and Octagon side by side, while Labarte separated them.[11] However, the *Book of Ceremonies* remarks

[8] A. Vogt, *Le Livre des Cérémonies*, I, part 2, p. 27

[9] On the Daphne Palace, see J. Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais*, pp. 49-57; R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris, 1964), pp. 112-113; R. Guilland, *op. cit.*, pp. 499-504.

[10] For example *Book of Ceremonies* I, 1 (Bonn), pp. 8-10; (Vogt) I, 1, pp. 6-7.

[11] See the plans of works cited in n. 7.

that the Octagon lay "in front of St. Stephen" (*πρὸ τοῦ Αγίου Στεφάνου*).[12] Given the usual easterly orientation of the church, then, the Octagon must have lain to the west of it. In fact, the two communicated so directly that on the Feast of Lights we read of the emperor assisting at the Divine Liturgy of St. Stephen's while standing in the Octagon.[13] The Octagon, therefore, functioned as a kind of narthex to the church, and the protocol that the emperor usually observes in the narthex of a church, namely removing or replacing his crown, we find him observing in the Octagon.

The intimate relationship of St. Stephen to the private quarters of the emperor is the first trait distinguishing the palace church from the standard parish church. The use the emperor made of the church also distinguished it from standard parish liturgy.[14] It is true that the church had a clergy assigned to it who may have observed a full ecclesiastical calendar of services.[15] But the church was not open to the public, and the chroniclers often refer to it simply as an "oratory" (*εὐκτήριον*).[16] It is the private imperial use of the church that most clearly differentiates it from a parish church. Located as it was next to the emperor's bedroom, it was his common stopping place for private prayer either on setting out from or returning to the palace.[17]

Apart from these every-day private visits by the emperor and the

[12] *Book of Ceremonies* I, 1 (Bonn), p. 21; (Vogt), I, 1, p. 16. See also R. Guilland, *op. cit.*, p. 502.

[13] *Book of Ceremonies* I, 25 (Bonn), p. 141; (Vogt), I, 1, p. 131. See also R. Guilland, *op. cit.*, p. 502.

[14] For the reconstruction of standard liturgical practices in the early Byzantine church see T. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople, Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, Pa., 1971).

[15] *Book of Ceremonies*, II, 8 and 11 (Bonn), pp. 538-541, 549-550; *PG* 112, 1008-1020.

[16] Cedrenus (Bonn), I, pp. 713-714; Leo Grammaticus (Bonn), pp. 213-214; Georgius Monachus (Bonn), p. 790.

[17] *Book of Ceremonies* I, 1 (Bonn), pp. 8 and 21; (Vogt), I, 1, pp. 5-6 and 16.

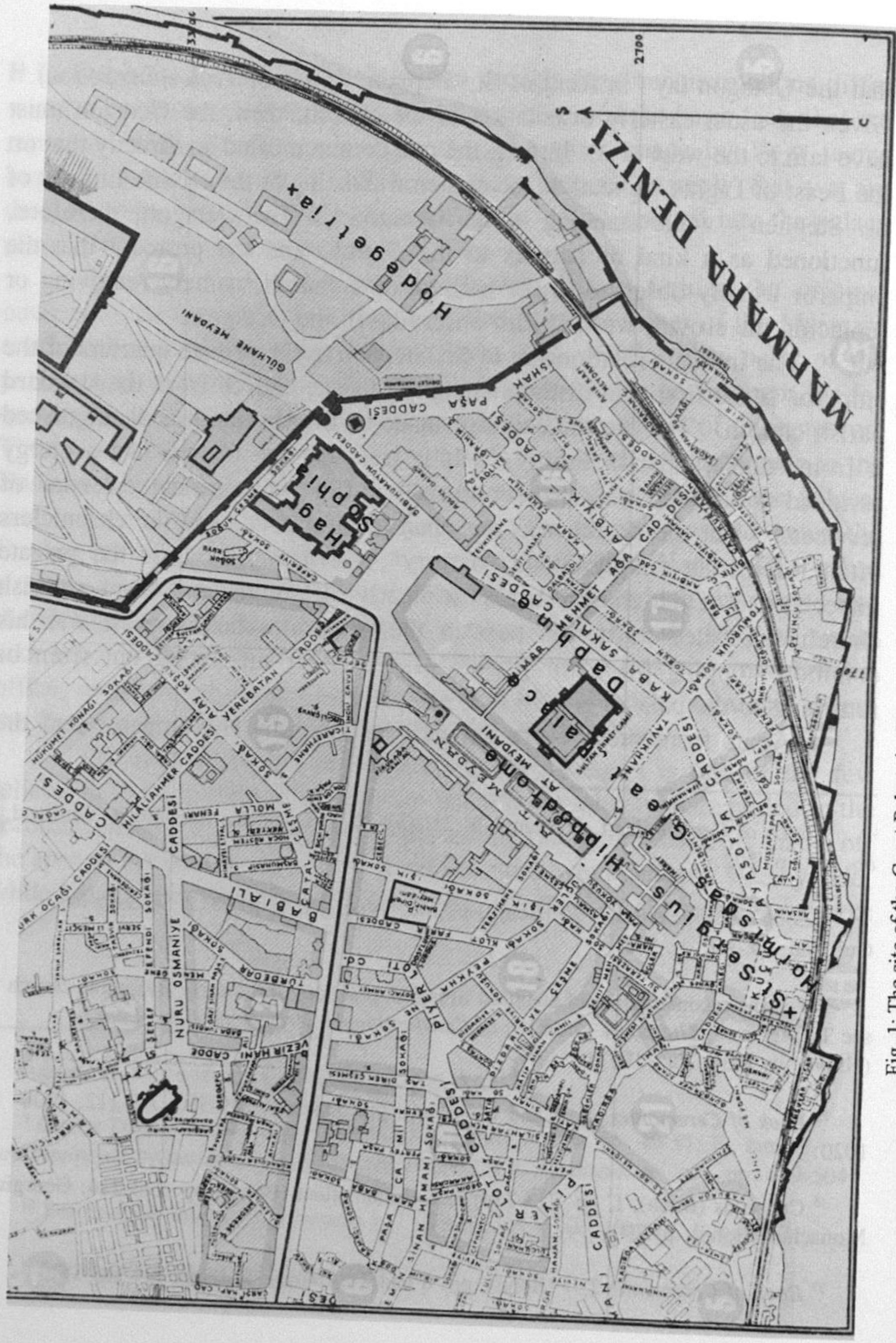

Fig. 1: The site of the Great Palace in Constantinople, from *Istanbul Şehri Rehberi*, 1934.

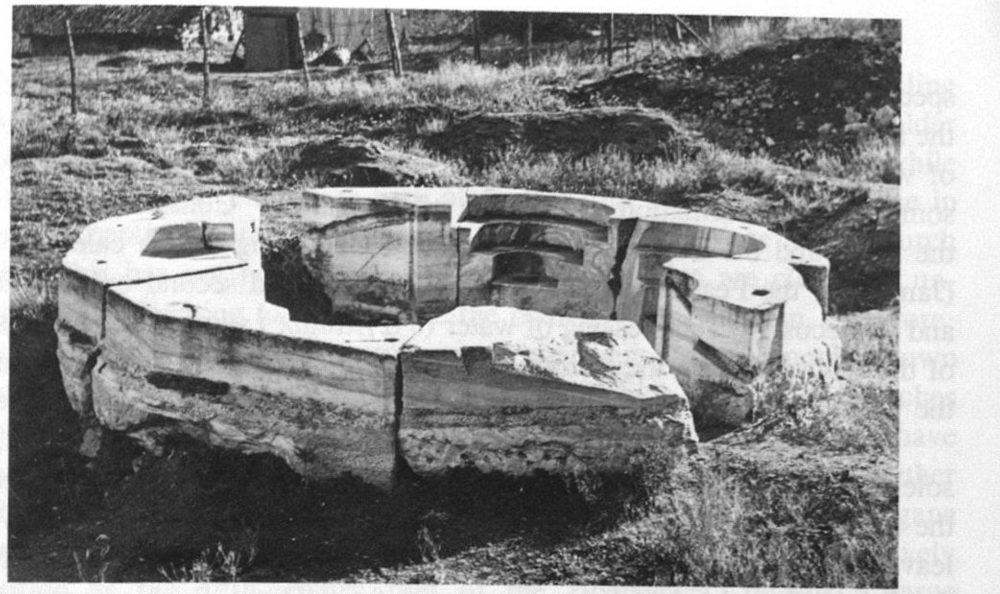

Fig. 2: The fountain of the Hodegetria, from the south. Photo by Artamanoff, courtesy Dumbarton Oaks Field Committee.

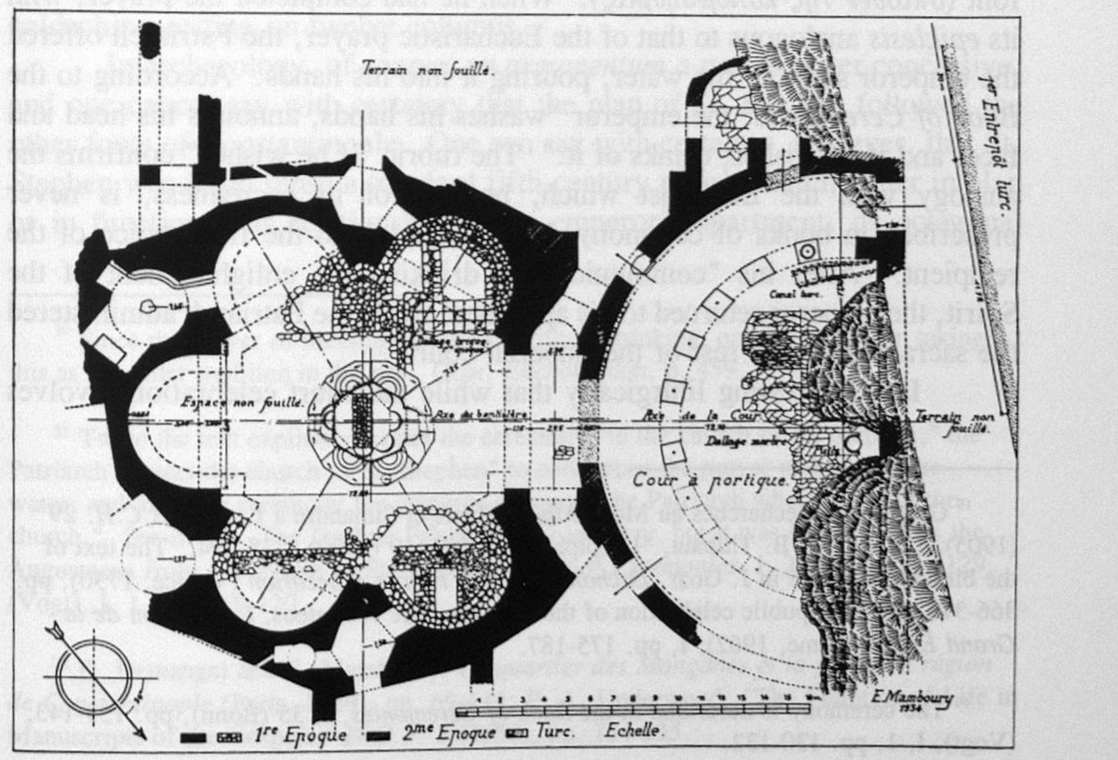

Fig. 3: Plan of the hexagon of the Hodegetria, from Demangel, *Le Quartier des Manganes*.

special occasional ceremonies of wedding and coronation discussed below, the most important ceremony recorded at St. Stephen was the annual blessing of water on the vigil of the Feast of Lights. The celebration also provides some further information on the plan of the church. Commemorating both the Birth and the Baptism of Christ at the beginning of the calendar year (Jan. 5-6), the Feast of Lights, or Epiphany, ranked second only to Easter and Pentecost.[18] The blessing of water (ὁ ἁγιασμὸς) symbolized the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Jordan, a descent which effected a consecration of the water analogous to the consecration of bread and wine in the Eucharist.

Though the regular clergy of St. Stephen celebrated the Mass, the solemn ceremony of the blessing of water that followed was performed by the Patriarch himself.[19] According to the ceremonial, the emperor would leave his apartment and stand in the Octagon to assist at Mass. After Mass the Patriarch, who had been summoned from Hagia Sophia, entered St. Stephen and began the "great consecration of the water." At this point the emperor also entered, carrying a candle, and took up a position behind the font (ὄπισθεν τῆς κολυμβήθρας). When he had completed the prayer, with its *epiklesis* analogous to that of the Eucharistic prayer, the Patriarch offered the emperor some of the water, pouring it into his hands. According to the *Book of Ceremonies*, the emperor "washes his hands, annoints his head and face, and if he wishes, drinks of it." The rubric "if he wishes" confirms the analogy with the Eucharist which, because of its sacredness, is never prescribed in books of ceremony, but always left to the free choice of the recipient. After his "communion" of drinking the enlightenment of the Spirit, the emperor returned to his apartment while the Patriarch administered the sacrament to the rest of the imperial court.

It is interesting liturgically that while the court celebration involves

[18] G. Millet, "Recherches au Mont-Athos: Phiale et Simandre à Lavra," *B.C.H.* 29 (1905), 105-141; J. B. Thibaut, "L'Epiphanie," *E.O.* 19 (1920), 278-294. The text of the blessing is found in J. Goar, *Euchologium sive rituale graecorum* (Venice, 1730), pp. 366-378. For the public celebration of the Epiphany see J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grand Église* (Rome, 1962), I, pp. 175-187.

[19] The ceremony is described in the *Book of Ceremonies*, I, 35 (Bonn), pp. 139-143; (Vogt), I, 1, pp. 130-132.

drinking the water, the ordinary parish celebration involves only sprinkling the faithful with the water; clearly the court ceremony represents the older tradition in the rite.[20] It is more interesting, however, to notice that while the ordinary parish celebration took place at a font in the atrium or else in a separate baptistery, the celebration at St. Stephen took place in the [illegible] itself. This has not been noticed before, but the texts are clear and unambiguous in locating the font inside the church.[21] St. Stephen, therefore, must be related to a group of monuments in ancient Constantinople known as holy or miraculous fonts, the most famous of which were at the churches of the Mother of God at Blachernes and at Pege. Both of these seem to have been central-plan monuments with the font in the center, and although neither of these has survived, another was actually uncovered in the Mangana excavation, just east of the Great Palace.[22] The site, which was tentatively identified as the fifth-century font of the Hodegetria, reveals a large hexagonal building with niches on five sides (figs. 2 and 3). In the center stood a great marble font, twelve-sided exteriorly, with six stepped niches inside. Column fittings indicate that the font was originally covered with a baldachino resting on twelve columns.

In archaeology, of course, an *argumentum a pari* is never conclusive, and one cannot say with certainty that the plan of St. Stephen followed the other fonts of Constantinople. One can say with certainty, however, that St. Stephen was in no sense a standard fifth-century parish church either in plan or in function. Its relationship to the emperor's apartment, its octagonal

[20] Since the prayer of blessing refers explicitly to drinking, one is justified in taking this as the older tradition in the rite. Goar, *Euchologium*, p. 459.

[21] Twice the text explicitly locates the ceremony "in the church of St. Stephen;" the Patriarch "enters the church of St. Stephen" to commence the prayer of blessing the water; and after the ceremony the emperor summons the Patriarch who is still "in the church." See n. 19. The Daphne Palace had a baptistery, but it was located across the Augustaeus from the church of St. Stephen. *Book of Ceremonies*, I, 23 (Bonn), p. 129; (Vogt), I, 1, pp. 119-120.

[22] R. Demangel and E. Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes et la première région de Constantinople* (Paris, 1939), pp. 69-111; P. A. Underwood, "The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels," *D.O.P.* 5 (1950), pp. 134-135.

narthex, and its font place it in another category: it was a palace church designed to fit the palace architecturally and to suit the needs of the imperial court liturgically.

II

The church of Ss. Sergius and Bacchus was also intimately related to the palace and to needs of private imperial worship. Mango's challenge to the traditional interpretation of Ss.Segius and Bacchus not only does violence to the historical sources, but it even misrepresents the Syriac document used to establish his thesis, namely the *Lives of Saints* by John of Ephesus.[23] In his obviously exaggerated account, John of Ephesus relates that the Empress Theodora gave asylum in the Hormisdas Palace to over 500 displaced monophysite monks, refugees from Syria, Egypt, and parts of Asia Minor. Mango has proposed, therefore, that it was for these refugees rather than for palace use that the church of Ss. Sergius and Bacchus was erected. A number of considerations make this impossible.

In the first place, outside the inscription in the church itself, the earliest reference to Ss. Sergius and Bacchus is found in the signatures of the Council of 536 where the abbot Paul signed himself as "hegoumenos of the monastery of Ss. Peter and Paul and Ss. Sergius and Bacchus."[24] The signature provides us with a reliable terminus for the completion of the church, as Mango recognized.[25] Mango failed to observe, however, that the signature also guarantees the orthodoxy of the *hegoumenos*, for the Council of 536 was convened precisely to condemn monophysitism and its champion Severus, the deposed patriarch of Antioch. It is not possible to imagine an orthodox *hegoumenos* presiding over a monophysite community.

[23] John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, II, ed. and trans. E. W. Brooks, *P.O.* 18, pp. 676-684. Mango refers to this as a "neglected source," but cf. Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique*, pp. 454-455, where its relevance to Ss. Sergius and Bacchus had already been denied. For bibliography on Ss. Sergius and Bacchus see Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople*, pp. 42-51.

[24] Mansi, VIII, p. 1010.

[25] Mango, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

In the second place, John of Ephesus himself tells us quite clearly what monastic life was like among the refugees, and it is evident that they had nothing to do with the church of Ss. Sergius and Bacchus. According to John of Ephesus, two kinds of monks were harbored by Theodora: hermits or solitaries, and cenobites or communal monks. For the former, temporary cells were made by dividing up some of the great halls of the palace with planks and curtains; here the hermits performed their fasts and vigils in solitude with "altars fixed up everywhere."[26] Evidently the hermits had no need of a church. The cenobites, on the other hand, established a regular community life with an archimandrite and steward and a common refectory, and their worship was conducted in a *triclinos* temporarily converted for the purpose. In their worship, John of Ephesus cites what to him was a miraculous occurence. A great congregeation used to assemble, he says, "To have the privilege of receiving the oblation consecrated by them in one of the great halls (τρικλίνος), inside which there was also a martyr's chapel; one day when a great crowd was assembled and it was filled from end to end, on account of the great weight of the people suddenly at the time of the celebration that chamber broke in and fell, thousands of people going down with it."[27] John's piety found the event miraculous in that no one was killed in the catastrophe. It is our good fortune, however, that the church of Ss. Sergius and Bacchus is still standing; clearly the monks were worshipping somewhere else.

The only reference to St. Sergius in John of Ephesus' account is found at the end of the document in a hardly reliable context. John says that after Theodora's death in 548, when most of the monks had been dispersed and women were again admitted to the Hormisdas, God sent an avenging fire to destroy the palace, and the site was then "given to the martyr's chapel of the holy Mar Sergius, and a monastery was built on that spot."[28] But no other source mentions the destruction of the Hormisdas Palace in 548, and,

[26] John of Ephesus, *Lives*, p. 679.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 682.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 684.

as we have seen, the monastery of Ss. Peter and Paul and Ss. Sergius and Bacchus existed at least as early as 536.

On the contrary, Ss. Sergius and Bacchus is one of the best documented examples available of what must strictly be classed as a "palace church," even if it was not the principal palace church. As at St. Stephen we must examine the relationship of the church to the palace and we must ask how it served the needs of the emperor and court.

Like the Daphne Palace, the Hormisdas was also erected originally by Constantine, but it was located somewhat apart from the Great Palace to the southwest of the Hippodrome where it housed the prince Hormisdas of Persia.[29] In the sixth century Justin I gave the palace to his nephew Justinian while he was still a private citizen, and Justinian, probably in the years 518-520, erected in the palace the church of Ss. Peter and Paul to commemorate his own name-saint.[30] This was a basilica and all that now remains of it is the broadly arched north wall which has been preserved against the south wall of Ss. Sergius and Bacchus. Before Justinian's accession, therefore, the Hormisdas was a private residence.

After Justinian's accession in 527 the character of the Hormisdas was considerably changed, for the new emperor remodelled the whole complex and annexed it to the Great Palace further up the coast. As Procopius narrates, "The residence known as Hormisdas, which is very close to the Palace, Justinian altered and transformed into something more distinguished that it might match the royal residence, and then he attached it to the Palace; thus he made it more spacious and much more dignified."[31]

The erection of Ss. Sergius and Bacchus should be seen, then, as part of this program of incorporating the Hormisdas into the Great Palace. Dissatisfied with the basilica he had built as a private citizen, Justinian placed beside it a central-plan church designed as an octagon within a square.

[29] Guilland has collected the references to the Hormisdas Palace in *Études de Topographie*, pp. 294-305.

[30] On Ss. Peter and Paul see Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople*, pp. 42-47.

[31] Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I, 10 (Bonn), p. 202.

There can be no doubt of the palace character of the foundation. Procopius tells us explicitly that the pair of churches "belonged to the palace" (*προσήκειν τοῖς βασιλείοις*)[32] and the *Book of Ceremonies* refers to the direct communication that existed between the gallery of Ss. Sergius and Bacchus and the apartments of the Palace.[33] Evidence of the church's connection with structures to the north can be seen in the walled-in arcades on the north flank of the church.[34]

This is not to deny that the church may have had other, not strictly imperial functions. Obviously every palace church had to have a staff of clergy associated with it, and while St. Stephen was administered by a "secular" clergy, the church of Ss. Sergius and Bacchus had a monastic clergy whose *hegoumenos* was referred to above. It should be noticed, however, that in one signature the *hegoumenos* put the church of Ss. Peter and Paul before Ss. Sergius and Bacchus and in another signature to the same Council he signs only the church of Ss. Peter and Paul.[35] Evidently Ss. Peter and Paul was the chief church, or *katholikon* of the monastery to which the emperor's church was a kind of *parekklesion*.

Unlike St. Stephen in Daphne, Ss. Sergius and Bacchus was apparently open to the public as well. This must be the meaning of Procopius' statement, "The pair of churches are so beautiful that they are an ornament to the whole city and not to the Palace alone."[36] Indeed, this semi-public nature of Ss. Sergius and Bacchus seems to explain the special liturgical use of the church as described in the *Book of Ceremonies*. The liturgy described there for the visit of the court on Easter Tuesday unfolds on two levels: the public liturgy below and the private imperial liturgy above

[32] *Ibid.*, I, 4 (Bonn), p. 187.

[33] See below n. 37.

[34] See Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople*, pp. 48-50 and pl. 32-33.

[35] Mansi, VIII, pp. 1010 and 822, 930.

[36] Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I, 4 (Bonn), p. 187.

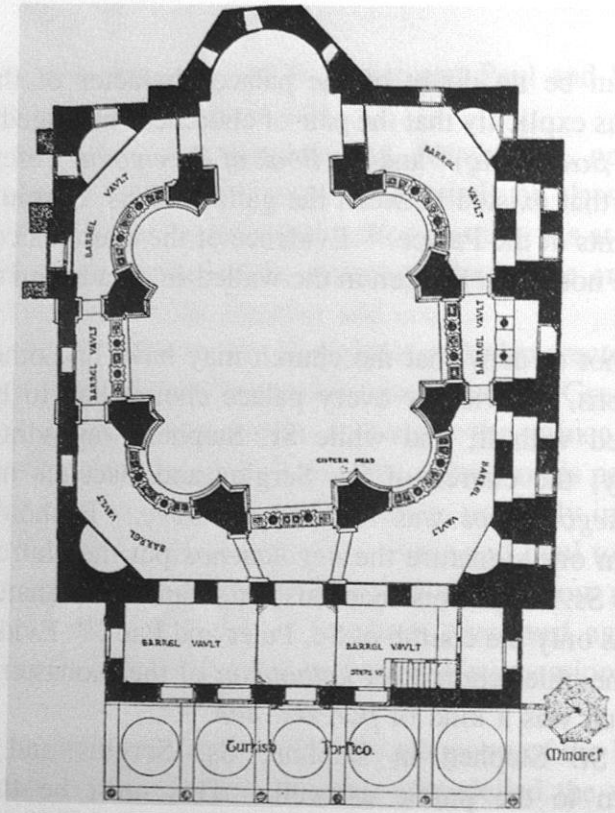

Fig. 4: Plan of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, photo Mathews.

Fig. 5: The west gallery of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, photo Mathews.

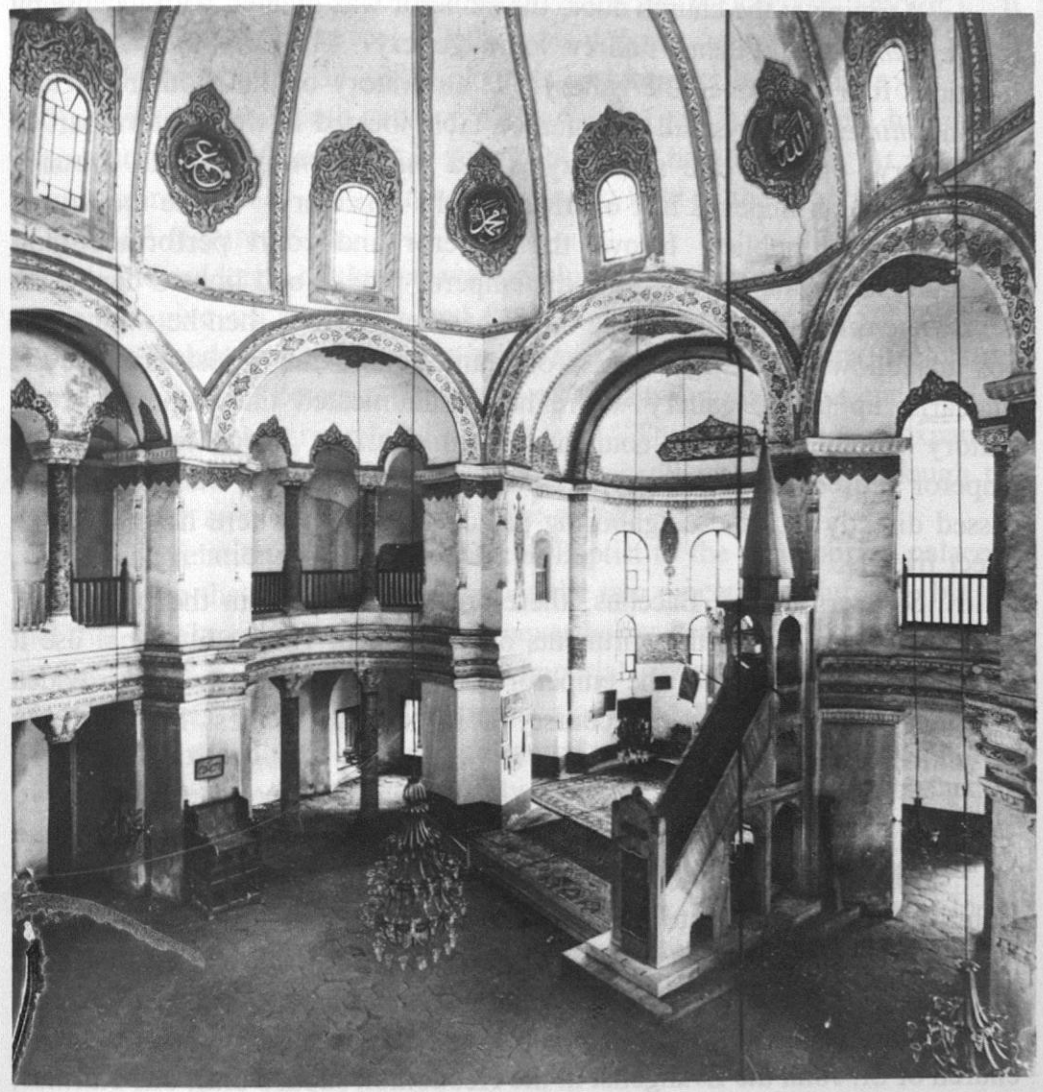

Fig. 6: Interior of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, photo Josephine Powell.

in the gallery (figures 4-6).[37]

Arriving at the church door, the emperor was greeted with incense by the *hegoumenos* and then withdrew to the gallery. The *Book of Ceremonies* mentions four stations in the gallery: (1) an oratory of the Mother of God; (2) an *antimension* or small communion table located in the western part of the gallery, opposite the sanctuary; (3) a *mitatorion* or private dressing chamber; (4) an imperial box overlooking the sanctuary. While the liturgy was celebrated publicly below, the emperor and court performed their devotions in private above. First the emperor prayed and lighted candles at the *antimension* and at the shrine of the Mother of God, then he went to his box to follow the liturgy. At Communion time the priest brought the Eucharist up to the gallery where he communicated the emperor in the oratory and the rest of the court at the *antimension*. Upon receiving, the emperor retired to his *mitatorion*, and when the liturgy was finished he passed directly into the neighboring palace apartment where he dined with select friends.

Ss. Sergius and Bacchus, therefore, was located in the palace and closely connected with the aprtments of the palace. In its liturgical use it served the convenience of the emperor and court in the privacy it provided for their worship. And, of course, it is one of the best known Early Byzantine examples of a central-plan church.

III

Like St. Stephen in Daphne, the church of St. John the Baptist in Hebdomon was founded to house an important Apostolic relic, the head of St. John the Baptist.[38] The *Patria Constantinopoleos* relates that under the Emperor Theodosius the Great and the Patriarch Nectarius the relic of the Baptist was brought to Constantinople and deposited temporarily in the church of St. John the Evangelist in the Hebdomon suburb until one Rufinus, a *magister officiorum*, persuaded Theodosius to erect a separate church to

[37] *Book of Ceremonies*, I, 11 (Bonn), pp. 86-89; (Vogt), I, 1, pp. 78-81.

[38] R. Demangel, *Contribution á la Topographie de l'Hebdomon* (Paris, 1945); R. Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique*, pp. 413-415; Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople*, pp. 55-61.

receive the relic.[39] The *Patria* describes the church as "a round-roofed building having conches" (ὁ δὲ στρογγυλόστεγος ὁ ἔχων τὰς κόγχας). It can be questioned, however, whether this description applied to the church of Theodosius (dating 381-395) or to its replacement by Justinian (ca. 550-560); writing in the tenth century, the author of the *Patria* knew Justinian's church at first hand, and this is very likely what he described. At any rate, it was the remains of Justinian's that came to light in the French excavation of 1921-23 (figures 8-9).

The evidence of the excavation plus the description of the church in Procopius give us a reliable and fairly complete picture of St. John the Baptist in Hebdomon. Closely resembling S. Vitale in Ravenna, the church was a double-shell octagon consisting of a central domed unit encircled by ambulatories on the ground and gallery level. The central octagon expanded into niches which Procopius refers to as "receding chambers," though the exact number and arrangement of these niches is not known.[40]

The relationship of St. John the Baptist to the neighboring palace is not known in the same detail as that of the two preceding churches, but the fact that it belonged to the palace is nevertheless certain.[41] Perhaps as early as the Emperor Valens (364-78) an imperial summer residence called the Magnaura was erected in Hebdomon along the shores of the Marmara. Though the excavators found no substantial remains of the palace, its location by the western point of the gently curving shoreline is established is established by a text in Theophanes (figure 7). Further north, between the Magnaura and the site of the church, Justinian added another palace, the Jucundianae, in order to make the entire complex "in no way inferior to the palace quarter within the city."[42] With this objective in mind, Procopius tells us, Justinian added to his new palace public baths (like those of Zeusippus

[39] *Patri Constantinopoleos*, ed. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitarum*, I, p. 260.

[40] Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I, 8 (Bonn), p. 198.

[41] On the Hebdomon Palace see R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, pp. 139-140.

[42] Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I, 11 (Bonn), p. 208.

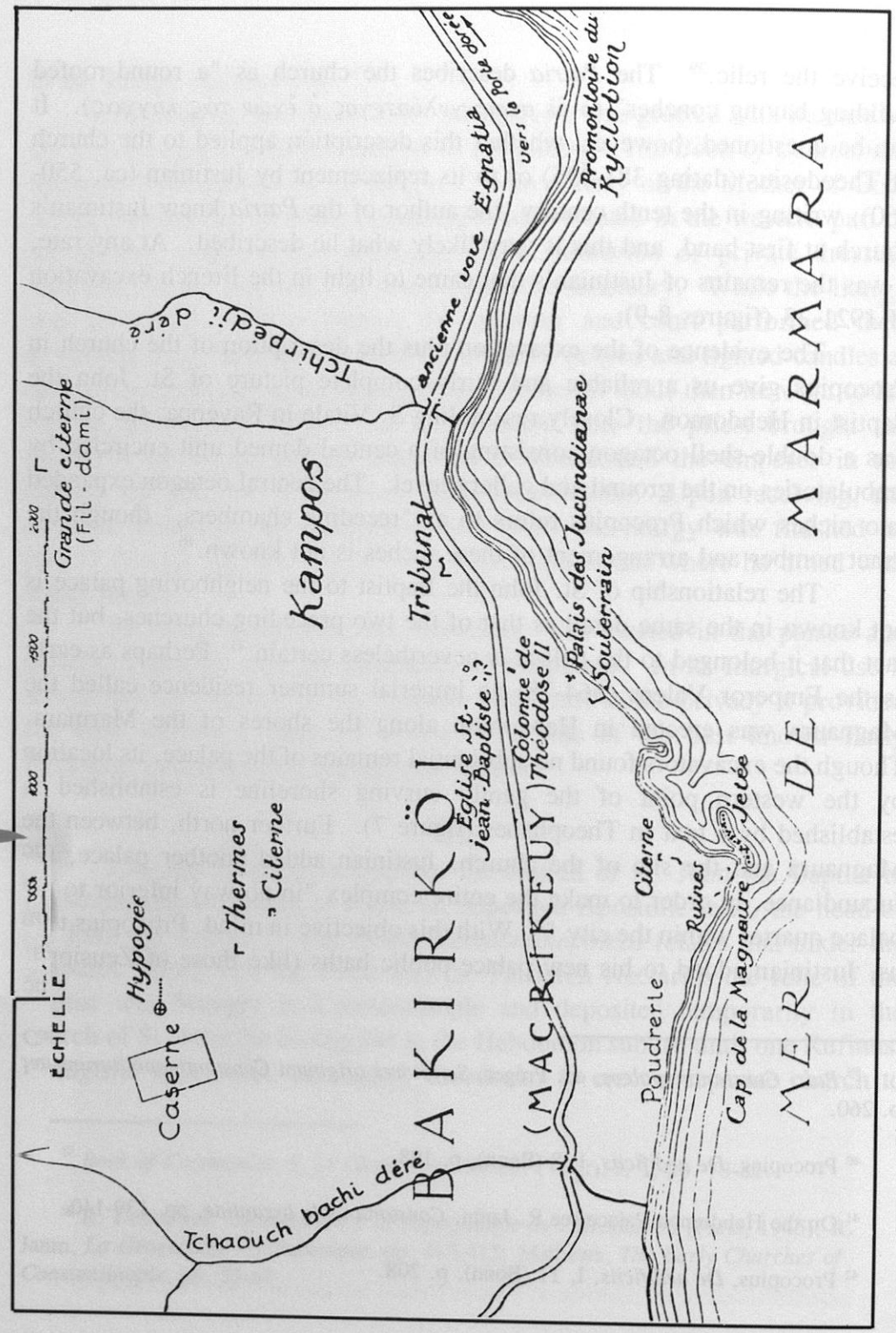

Fig. 7: The site of the Hebdomon Palace, from Demangel, *Contribution à la Topographie de l'Hebdomon.*

Fig. 8: Remains of the apse of St. John the Baptist at Hebdomon, photo W. Kleiss, German Archaeological Institute, Istanbul.

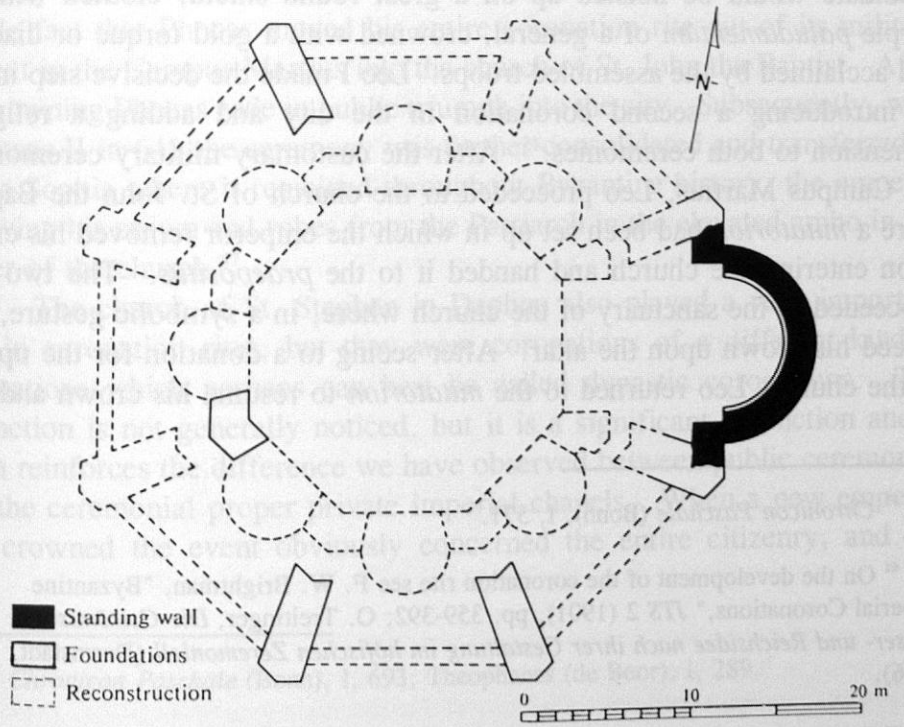

Fig. 9: Plan of St. John the Baptist at Hebdomon, from Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople.*

that adjoined the Great Palace), a new harbor, and three churches, including that of the Baptist. Hence in subsequent literature the church of the Baptist is known as the "church at the Jucundianae Palace."[43] As at the Hormisdas, both palace and church were part of the same building (or rebuilding) campaign.

As far as imperial ceremonial is concerned, the importance of St. John the Baptist lies in its role in the development of the Byzantine rite of coronation.[44] Prior to its codification in the eighth century, the rite of coronation developed step by step away from the secular and military ceremony of Late Imperial times toward what was finally an almost completely religious ceremony. Two of the most important steps in the sacralization of the rite were first introduced at St. John the Baptist in Hebdomon.

Because coronation was in origin a military ceremony it was generally performed in early Byzantine times at Hebdomon where the barracks and training grounds, the Campus Martius, were located. Here the chosen candidate would be hoisted up on a great round shield, clothed with the purple *paludamentum* of a general, crowned with a gold torque or diadem, and acclaimed by the assembled troops. Leo I made the decisive step in 457 of introducing a second coronation in the city and adding a religious dimension to both ceremonies.[45] After the customary military ceremony in the Campus Martius, Leo proceeded to the church of St. John the Baptist. Here a *mitatorion* had been set up in which the emperor removed his crown upon entering the church and handed it to the *praepositus*. The two then proceeded to the sanctuary of the church where, in a symbolic gesture, Leo placed his crown upon the altar. After seeing to a donation for the upkeep of the church, Leo returned to the *mitatorion* to resume his crown and ride

[43] *Chronicon Paschale* (Bonn), I, 571.

[44] On the development of the coronation rite see F. W. Brightman, "Byzantine Imperial Coronations," *JTS* 2 (1901), pp. 359-392; O. Treitinger, *Die Oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell* (Darmstadt, 1956).

[45] *Book of Ceremonies*, I, 91 (Bonn), pp. 410-412; *PG* 112, pp. 745-770.

in triumph into the city to Hagia Sophia. At the cathedral Leo again repeated the symbolic offering of his crown, but with this difference, that this time on leaving the church the crown was restored to him by the Patriarch Anatolius who placed it on his head.

There seems to be a contrast involved in the two ceremonies, for ceremonies are generally not repeated needlessly. At the palace church the ceremony must have been performed privately for the emperor's personal satisfaction and for the court, expressing the emperor's acknowledgement of the divine origin of his authority to rule. In the cathedral, on the other hand, the ceremony was performed publicly for the edification of all the citizenry and was ratified by the public representative of divine authority, the Patriarch. Hence the distinction observed in the other two palace churches seems to hold at the Jucundianae church as well, that the ceremonies performed there were of a private character of special significance to the emperor and his court.

A second important step in the sacralization of the coronation rite was taken by Phocas in 602.[46] All details of the ritual are lacking except the simple fact that Phocas moved his entire coronation rite out of its military context in the Campus Martius into the church of St. John the Baptist. After his crowning Phocas rode in public triumph into the city. Subsequently, with Constans II in 641 the ceremony was further consolidated and transferred to Hagia Sophia where it remained throughout Byzantine history, the emperor receiving his crown and robes from the Patriarch in the elevated ambo in the center of the church.[47]

The church of St. Stephen in Daphne also played a very important role in coronation rites, but they were coronations of a different kind -- coronations which perhaps can best be called dynastic coronations. The distinction is not generally noticed, but it is a significant distinction and it again reinforces the difference we have observed between public ceremonial and the ceremonial proper private imperial chapels. When a new emperor was crowned the event obviously concerned the entire citizenry, and the

[46] *Chronicon Paschale* (Bonn), I, 693; Theophanes (de Boor), I, 289.

[47] Nicephorus Patriarchus (de Boor), p. 30.

ceremony had to be celebrated in public. When, however, the ruling emperor chose to elevate his son, real or adopted, to the rank of caesar or co-emperor with right of succession, or when the emperor took a wife or elevated her to imperial rank as Augusta, the event primarily concerned the ruling family since the step was taken to insure the continuity of the dynasty. Such coronations were palace affairs and were generally celebrated in or involved ceremonies in the principal palace church, St. Stephen in Daphne.

When the Emperor Heraclius in 638 promoted his son Heraclonas to co-emperor and his younger son David to caesar, the ceremony took place in St. Stephen in Daphne.[48] The Senate was convoked in the church and the Patriarch came and pronounced the benediction; the crown of caesar which Heraclonas wore was replaced with the imperial crown and, after a second benediction, David received the crown of caesar. The emperor and his sons then went out to the Augustaeus in the Daphne Palace where they received the homage of the patricians and the rest of the court. By the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, however, most of the ceremony had been transferred to to the tribunal in the palace and St. Stephen was used only for a private visit of the Patriarch.[49]

St. Stephen was also the traditional site of imperial weddings down to the time of Leo VI (886-912).[50] Two crownings are involved, the crowning of the new bride as Augusta and the double nuptial crowning of the spouses in the wedding ceremony. The latter took place in St. Stephen with the Patriarch celebrating the wedding, but the former took place in the ɹɒɘgustaeus of Daphne with a reception following in St. Stephen. An ƨbc*imension* would be placed in the Augustaeus with the crown and imperial cɿoes of the empress. After the Patriarch pronounced his blessing, the ɟo peror himself would invest his bride-to-be with the robes and place on her ɹɒɘ

[48] *Book of Ceremonies*, II, 27 (Bonn), p. 627; *PG* 112, pp. 1165-1168.

[49] *Book of Ceremonies*, I, 43 (Bonn), pp. 212-225; (Vogt), II, 1, pp. 26-32.

[50] *Book of Ceremonies*, I, 39-41 (Bonn), pp. 196-216; (Vogt), II, 1, pp. 6-23. On the antiquity of the ceremonies described in these chapters see Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais*, pp. 199-204; Ebersolt, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines* (Paris, 1917), pp. 27-33.

head the crown. The imperial couple then proceeded to St. Stephen where they took places on thrones on either side, the emperor on the right and the empress on the left. The court was then summoned to pay homage to their new sovereign, which they did in order of rank, first the men, then the women entering separately. Falling down before her, they would kneel and kiss her knees and offer her their compliments. The wedding ceremony followed, apparently attended only by intimate members of the imperial household.

The total evidence concerning the early palace churches of Constantinople is admittedly fragmentary; other palace churches existed of which we know little more than the names, and much of the imperial ceremony has gone unrecorded. Nevertheless the evidence we have is reliable and in all respects it seems to confirm the hypothesis that palace churches constituted a separate tradition. All three churches examined were intimately related to the imperial residence and seem to have been designed with that in mind. The ceremonies conducted in them were closely related to the needs of the emperor and court and stand in marked contrast to the standard liturgy of public parish churches. Finally, their design also seems to put them in a class by themselves: Ss. Sergius and Bacchus and St. John the Baptist in Hebdomon are among the most important examples of the triumph of central-plan designs under Justinian, and St. Stephen in Daphne was, in all likelihood, an earlier example of the same basic preference.

III

"Private" Liturgy in Byzantine Architecture : Toward a Re-appraisal

The liturgy is defined as the official public worship of the Christian community, conducted by the appointed ministers of the church on behalf of all the faithful. The symbolism of this ritual remained fairly constant, apart from certain nuances, from beginning to end of Byzantine history; the commentators all understood the identity of the Eucharist with Christ's own offering of himself in his death on the cross and all were conscious of the universal efficacy of this offering[1]. Yet while the symbolism of the ritual remained constant its external and visible shape underwent considerable evolution. The question is to what extent can one explain the development of medieval Byzantine architecture as a molding of the architectural shell to fit the ceremonial it housed.

The evolution of Byzantine church building from early to medieval times can be described in the most general terms as an evolution from open to closed forms. The early basilica consisted of a succession of expansive spaces opening into one another and lighted from all sides : atrium, aisles, galleries, and nave. By contrast, the medieval church was compact and introverted. Whether cruciform, square or octagonal, its focus was the well of light in the middle of the building created by the central dome. Accessibility of space tended to be noticeably restricted. The fifth century Stoudios basilica, for example, was accessible from all sides, even through entrances at the east to the right and left of the sanctuary; the medieval church, on the other hand, tended to be far more restrictive, often with entrances only on the west. Most significant of all were the changes in the layout of the sanctuary. While in the early Byzantine church the sanctuary extended forward from the apse into the nave in a π-shaped plan, with an *ambo* projecting further into the center of the church, the medieval sanctuary retreated from the nave. The sacred area was organized instead in three bays in the eastern end of the church, and the templon barrier that separated the zone of the clergy from the world of the laity ran in a straight north-south line.

Alongside these changes in planning there occurred a sometimes dramatic change in scale; for example, the worshipper entering the nave of the grand Lechaion basilica outside of Corinth would have found himself over 100 meters from the bishop's throne in the apse; in none of the medieval churches of Kastoria can one find a span as great as ten meters from entrance to apse[2]. This phenomenon of "miniaturization" of church design was by no means universal in medieval Byzantium, yet it is common enough to require some explanation. How the change in scale relates to the change in plan is a question that has never been examined. These changes deserve to be examined together for both can be tied to similar developments in the evolution of the Byzantine liturgy. The evidence is far from complete, and it is perhaps unwarranted to speak of the liturgical changes as "causing" the architectural changes. Still, architecture and liturgy in some aspects present parallels so close that one must be said to somehow "explain" the other; in other aspects the connections are at least suggestive of areas needing further research.

Evolution of Church Planning.

The early Byzantine liturgy was very markedly a liturgy of processions. It is clear that the First Entrance was originally a ceremony in which all the faithful took part; it was the solemn entrance of the public into the church under the leadership of the bishop and other clergy[3]. It began with the reception and acclamation of the bishop in the atrium[4], and it ended with the placement of the Gospel on the altar and the enthronement of the bishop in his place in the apse. Similarly, the second, or Great Entrance, which marked the start of the liturgy of the faithful, was also a true entry, for it was a carrying in of the bread and wine from a sacristy (or *skeuophylakion*) located somewhere outside of the church[5]. The deacons carried in the holy elements with incense and candles, and the faithful prostrated themselves, until they

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delivered their burden to the celebrating priest at the altar. Further processional action was involved in the readings, in the reception of Communion, and in the recessional or exit of the bishop.

By the tenth century all of these processions had been sharply curtailed. The liturgy no longer opened with the procession of the First Entrance but with a litany that had been prefixed to the entire ceremony. At the end of the litany the clergy made an appearance, emerging from the sanctuary to show themselves and the Gospel, and returning back to their place in the sanctuary[6]. By the fourteenth century the commentator Nicholas Cabasilas no longer even referred to this ceremony as an "entrance" but called it simply a "showing of the Gospel" (ἀνάδειξις τοῦ Ἁγίου Εὐαγγελίου)[7]. A similar abbreviation took place in the evolution of the Great Entrance. The preparation of the bread and wine no longer took place outside the church but in a *prothesis* chamber immediately to the left of the *bema*. Accordingly the Great Entrance, though still performed with considerable solemnity, was reduced to a transference of the elements from the north bay of the triple sanctuary to the center bay[8]. The exact course followed by the ministers in transferring the elements from the *prothesis* chamber to the altar is not documented in literary sources, but given the design of Middle Byzantine churches it probably followed a "U" course out to the center of the nave and back to the sanctuary.

The transformation of the processional entries into "showings" neatly parallels the abandonment of the processional lines of early Byzantine architecture in favor of the compact, introspective plans of medieval Byzantine architecture. The focus of attention in the architecture shifted dramatically. The linear design of the Early Byzantine basilica focused one's attention with compelling force on the apse, the place of the bishop and the altar in front of him; the medieval church with its central plan and central lighting focused attention on the door to the sanctuary and the area immediately in front of it, the place of the medieval liturgical appearances. The re-organization of the sanctuary was designed to suit the restricted movement of the medieval liturgy, and the architect, freed from the necessity of planning his structure around a series of parades, turned his attention to problems in the formal geometry of symmetrical designs.

Closely linked to this re-focusing of the church plan was the development of an opaque chancel barrier. Present evidence now indicates that, contrary to earlier beliefs, the sanctuary of the Early Byzantine church, whether enclosed by a low chancel barrier or by a colonnaded templon, was perfectly visible to the laity in the church[9]. With the passage of time the barrier between clergy and laity became increasingly opaque eventually evolving into the solid iconscreen, a process which took place more slowly than is usually imagined[10]. Curtains too were introduced relatively late. The earliest reference, in the *Protheoria* of Nicholas of Andida (1054-1067), describes the shutting of the sanctuary door with a curtain as a monastic practice; a second reference later in the eleventh century by Nichetas the Chartophylax describes the enclosing of the sanctuary with a curtain as a non-Constantinopolitan custom[11].

But if the practice was just gaining ground in the late eleventh century, the mentality that produced the closed sanctuary was already being promoted. As R. Taft has pointed out, Nicetas Stethatos of Stoudios proposed that the laity should avert their gaze during the *anaphora* and not cast their "unsanctified glance" on the mystery which the clergy are performing in the sanctuary[12]. In this instance the change in attitude toward the liturgy clearly preceded the change in architecture; the notion that the mystery was too holy for the laity to behold prompted the closing of the chancel screen. What had earlier been a public action taking place visibly in the midst of the congregation became now strictly the business of the clergy shut off in the eastern end of the church, and as far as its visible shape was concerned the emphasis now fell on a series of apparitions as the clergy emerged from and returned to their closed precinct in the eastern end of the church.

Closely associated with this re-design of the sanctuary is the disappearance of the elevated *synthronon*. In the Early Byzantine church the clergy occupied seats in the apse on top a stepped amphitheatre with the throne of the bishop in the center. Archeological evidence in Constantinople witnesses to this arrangement at the Stoudios basilica, Hag. Eirēnē and Hag. Euphēmia, and literary sources describe a seven-step amphitheatre topped with a *synthronon* of silver at Hagia Sophia[13]. In Middle Byzantine churches the *synthronon* is brought down to the level of the sanctuary. In the Pantocrator, an exceptionally large foundation of the twelfth century, it was raised one step above the level of the sanctuary, but elsewhere it was reduced even further[14]. The only *synthronon* in the rock-cut churches of Cappadocia, at the tenth century Tokali Kilise, is merely a pseudo-*synthronon* consisting of a kind of shelf about 15 cm. deep (fig. 12). Clearly this was not intended for sitting; instead, seating for two presbyters was provided in carved arm-chairs at the right and left corners of the apse (fig. 10). The reduction of the *synthronon* to two seats at Tokali obviously involves a decline in the number of presbyters concelebrating the liturgy[15]. On the other hand the general reduced importance of the bishop's throne in Middle Byzantine architecture has its liturgical parallel in the reduced importance of preaching.

In Early Byzantine times the throne, besides being the symbol of the bishop's position of authority, was the usual place from which he taught the faithful[16]. As Krumbacher pointed out, sermons played a much smaller role in medieval Byzantine literature than they did in early times, and their character generally changed from the earlier homiletic mode of day-by-day commentary on the scriptural readings to eulogies and encomia for special occasions[17]. The decline of spontaneous preaching must be linked to the introduction of the "read" sermon. The Quinisext Council (692) provided impetus for this custom, for while it reminded the presiding cleric of his responsibility in instructing the faithful, it urged him that this duty could best be fulfilled by reading from the Fathers of the Church[18].

At the same time, the ceremonies of reading from Scripture and the physical furnishings for the readings underwent a parallel evolution. The Early Byzantine arrangement called for an *ambo* erected prominently toward the center of the nave and connected to the sanctuary by a *solea* or reserved passageway[19]. The successive readings of Old Testament, Epistle, and Gospel were accomplished with successive processions of the readers along the *solea*, and the clamor with which the people surged around the *solea* to touch the Gospel after the deacon had finished reading reminded Paul the Silentiary of the waves of the ocean pounding on a peninsula[20]. Again the medieval Byzantine liturgy transformed the processions into appearances. The *ambo* disappeared entirely and instead the readings were done on the step, which was now named the *solea*, before the royal door of the sanctuary. The book was placed on a portable wooden lectern[21].

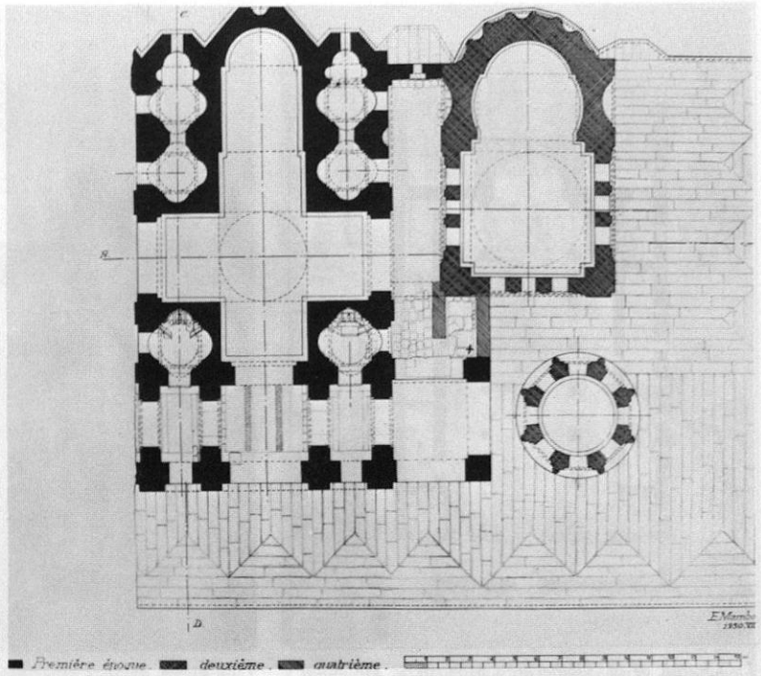
All of these phenomena point to a general withdrawal of liturgical action from the nave and its consolidation within the sanctuary. The liturgy became more and more a performance of the clergy; lay participation tended to be restricted to response in song, since even the reception of Communion was common only two or three times a year. The liturgy was gradually made ever more remote, untouchable, inaccessible, invisible. At the same time something else is happening that in a way may be a counter-balance to this developing chasm between laity and liturgy, and that is the new intimacy in the dimensions of the church building itself.

Reduction in Scale and Tendencies toward "Private" Liturgy.

The general diminution, and at times "miniaturization" of medieval church design takes us into an area of interaction between liturgy and architecture that remains for the most part unexplored. The reduced scale was clearly not a feature of the gross decline in population; a town like medieval Kastoria, with its dozens of tiny churches, certainly had a total population large enough to justify one or two churches of decent size, but this solution was not chosen. Krautheimer and Mango have both attributed the phenomenon of smaller medieval churches to monasticism, and this is probably basically correct[22]; most innovations in church practice in Byzantium came out of monasticism. The question is the mechanism by which this change took place.

One aspect of this problem, the multiplication of side chapels in medieval Byzantine architecture, has received some attention from Babič[23]. Unfortunately Babič limited her attention to the mortuary functions of such chapels, whether as martyria, as chapels for the burial of distinguished founders, or as chapels with other funerary associations. While such uses account for the dedication of a certain number of side chapels they tell us little about the actual functioning of the chapels, which are often equipped in standard fashion for the celebration of the Eucharist. Moreover a great many side chapels have no discernible mortuary associations.

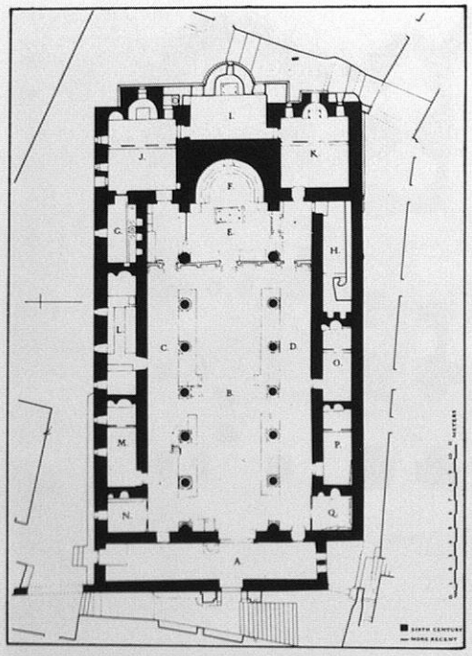
The church of the Mother-of-God of Constantine Lips in Constantinople (907) is an important case in point. At the east end of the church to the north and south of the standard triple sanctuary arrangement archeology has confirmed the existence of two extra side chapels (fig. 1)[24]. Unfortunately their original furnishings were not preserved. On the gallery level, however, where burials would have been impossible, four more diminutive chapels survive, three of which preserved portions of the chancel stylo-



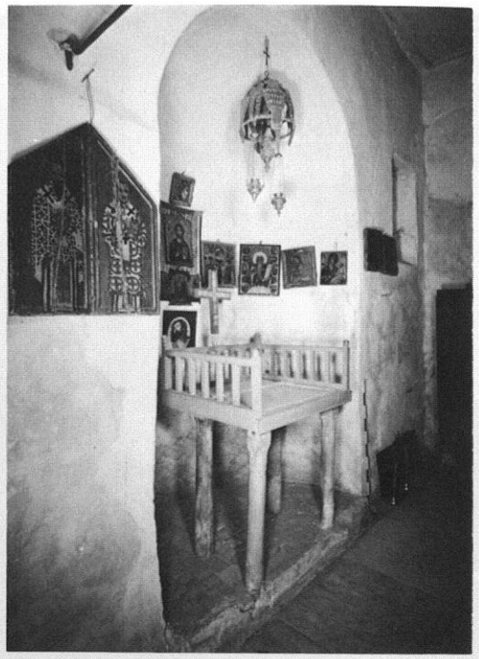
1. Church of the Mother-of-God of Lips, Constantinople. Side chapel to the south and gallery chapels. Photo Mathews.

2. Church of the Mother-of-God of Lips, Constantinople. Gallery plan by E. Mamboury. Courtesy Dumbarton Oaks.

3. Church of the Mother-of-God of Lips, Constantinople. Southeast gallery chapel. Courtesy Dumbarton Oaks Field Committee.



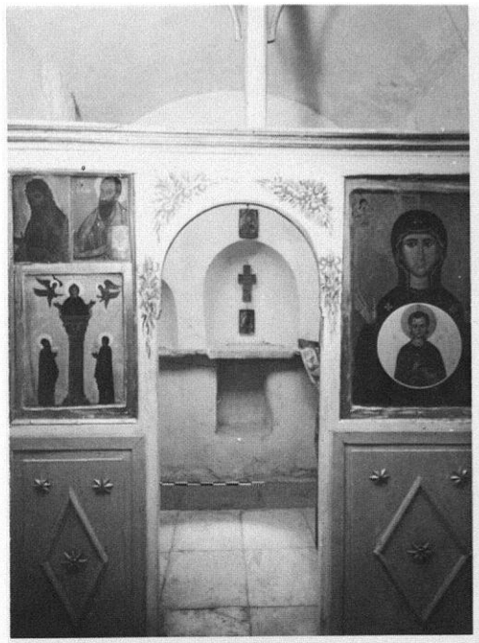
4. Church of St. Catherine's Monastery, Mt. Sinai. Plan. Courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.



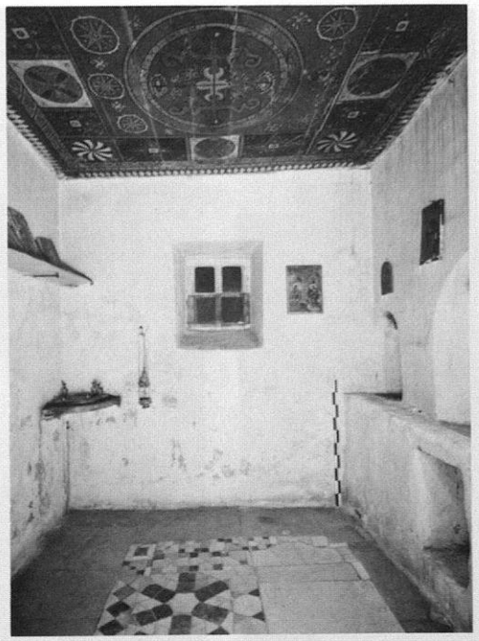
5. Church of St. Catherine's Monastery, Mt. Sinai. Chapel K. Courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.

bates, and two the altar emplacements against the apse with cruciform reliquary settings in the wall (fig. 2-3)[25]. Two of these chapels were located in the western corner bays where they could be reached from the gallery over the narthex, but the other two, in the eastern end of the church, could be reached only through some sort of catwalk along the side of the church. Their limited access and their extremely limited dimensions seem to make them hardly suitable for the conduct of the liturgy, which by its nature is meant to be a "public" action. Yet they contained in miniature the two most essential elements of the regular celebration of the liturgy, namely a barrier setting aside the sacred area and an altar. The archeology raises the question whether a kind of "private" liturgy – a common phenomenon in the West – may have had a role in the Byzantine rite as well.

The phenomenon observed at the Lips church, namely the multiplication of diminutive chapels with the minimal furnishings necessary for the celebration of the liturgy of the Eucharist, can be traced at least as far back as the sixth century. At the monastery of St. Catherine's, Mt. Sinai, 548-560, the church follows a common Early Christian basilica plan with the notable addition of a series of chapels around the periphery (fig. 4)[26]. Structurally all of these belong to the original fabric of the Justinianic church[27]. Chambers G and H, furnished with cabinet niches, Forsyth has identified as sacristies; the others, however, all have the essential and minimal furnishings for the celebration of the divine liturgy. In chapels J and K the altar is free-standing in a small apse while in the other chapels the altar simply consists of a shelf built into a niche (fig. 5-7)[28]. In each chapel another niche immediately to the left of the altar is provided for the *prothesis* ceremony. The finish of the masonry guarantees the sixth-century date of these altar and *prothesis* niches, for since the building's masonry is dressed only on the surface one could not make a subsequent cut into it without exposing the rubble core[29]. In each chapel a step indicates the probable location of a chancel barrier (in N and Q the step is to the side, from the aisle). The largest, namely chapels J and K flanking the main apse, are about 5 m square; those that flank the aisles are a bare 2 m wide, though of varying lengths. In other words, although they are furnished for the celebration of the divine liturgy none is large enough to accommodate a celebration that one could call "public" or even a celebration that would involve any



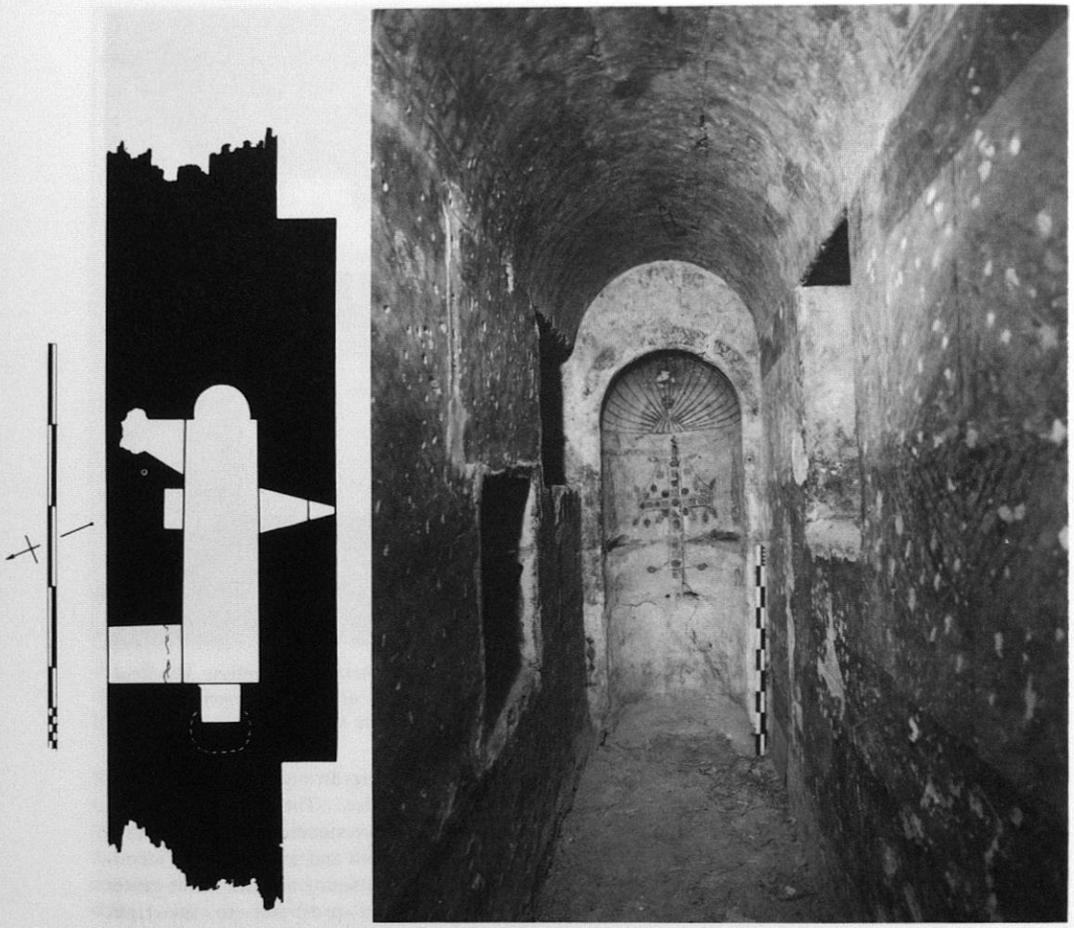
6. Church of St. Catherine's Monastery, Mt. Sinai. Chapel P. Courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.

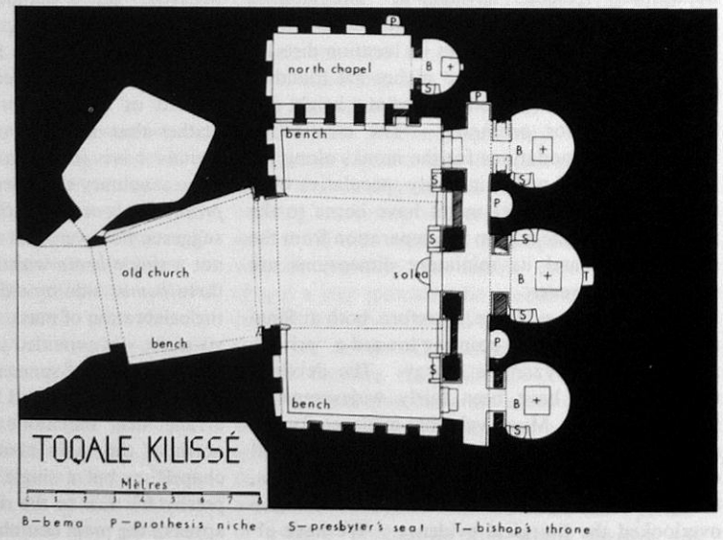


7. Church of St. Catherine's Monastery, Mt. Sinai. Chapel N. Courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.

significant percentage of the monastic community. One other chapel at Sinai deserves to be mentioned in this connection, an even more diminutive chapel located in the center bay of the southwest wall (fig. 8-9)[30]. Slightly less than a meter in width and 3.7 m in length, the chapel was handsomely frescoed throughout. The altar is missing, but the un-frescoed area beneath the cross in the apse probably indicates its location directly against the apse wall. Two niches are found in the left wall, the second one placed at a height suitable for use for *prothesis*. The erection of modern accommodations for the monks along the inside of this wall makes it purely speculative what relationship this chapel might have borne to the rest of the monastery plan; its separation from the main church and its miniature dimensions are significant, however.

We have some evidence, therefore, both at Sinai and at the Lips church pointing toward a "privatization" of the Byzantine liturgy. The development seems to have been fairly widespread in medieval times. Much valuable evidence for the shape of the medieval Byzantine liturgy is still contained in the rock-cut churches of Cappadocia, though in their search for frescoes scholars have overlooked the liturgical evidence. We have already cited the seating arrangement in the main apse at the Tokali Kilise. The arrangement in the side apses is even more significant for our investigation. Both the north and south apse are identical in furnishings, containing an altar in the center and a seat for the presbyter to the right (fig. 10). But it should be noted that while the *prothesis* ceremony requires a table of some sort it has no use for a seat, for there are no scriptural readings; on the other hand, in a *diaconicon,* defined as a place for vessels and for vesting, neither altar nor seat would have any place. Historians have tended automatically to label the three sanctuary chambers, wherever they occur, as *prothesis, bema* and *diaconicon;* the archeology suggests, however, that what we have at Tokali is not a single *bema* with its auxiliary chambers but three *bemas* side by side, each fully equipped for the celebration of mass. For each *bema* a *prothesis* niche was provided just to the left of each apse in the corridor of space immediately in front of the apses (fig. 10 and 11). A slightly different arrangement maintains in the chapel just to the north of the main church of Tokali. Here the chapel has but a single apse. The altar and the presbyter's seat to the right are arranged as in the apses of the main church, but the *prothesis* niche is

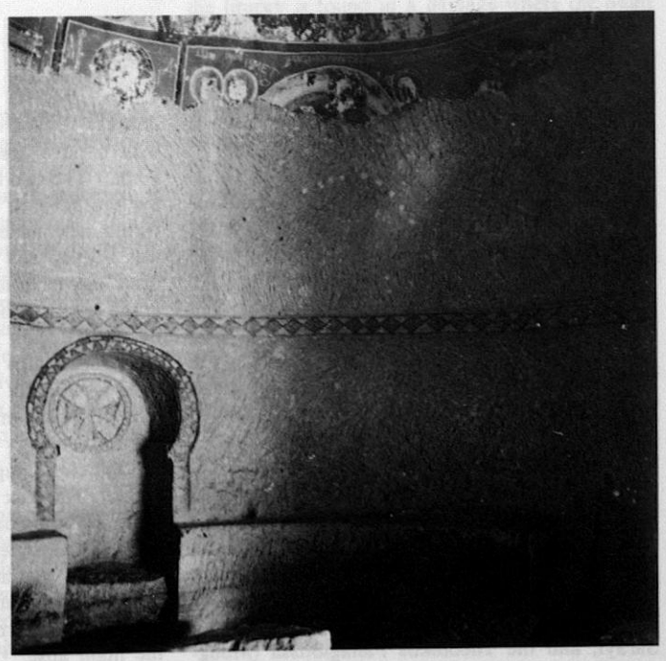




8. Southwest wall chapel, St. Catherine's Monastery, Mt. Sinai. Plan. Courtesy of the Michigan-Prince ton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.

9. Southwest wall chapel, St. Catherine's Monastery, Mt. Sinai. View toward the apse. Courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.

10. Tokali Kilise, Göreme. Plan. From G. de Jerphanion, Les églises rupestres, *I, 2, plate 61.*



11. Tokali Kilise, Göreme. Interior, showing alternation of apses (bemas) *and* prothesis *niches. Photo Mathews.*

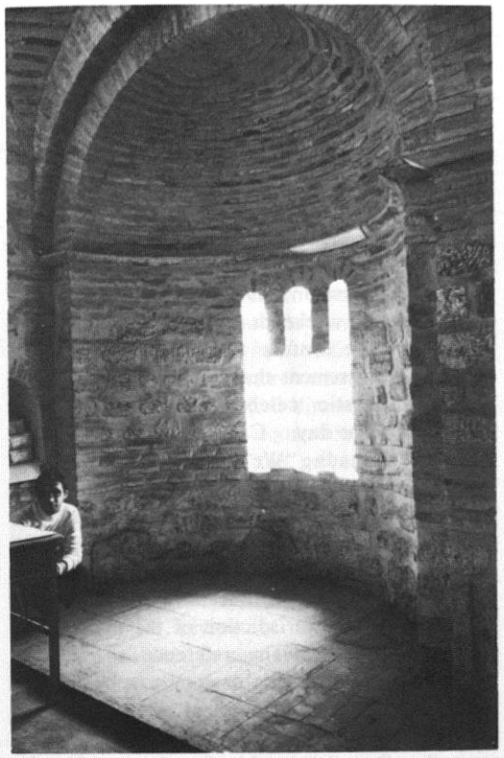
*12. Tokali Kilise, Göreme. Center apse, showing bishop's throne, pseudo-*synthronon, *and presbyter's chair. Photo Mathews.*

13. Church of Christ of Chōra, Constantinople. Apse and flanking chapels. Photo Mathews.

outside of the chancel barrier to the left, in the first bay of the nave.

Both of these arrangements, with minor variations, are standard throughout Cappadocia. Where the church has but a single apse the *prothesis* is usually in the nave immediately to the left of the sanctuary; where the church has three apses, each apse is a *bema* with its own altar and presbyter's seat. The commonest variation is in the placement of the *prothesis* niche; if the church is less spaciously laid out than the Tokali a small *prothesis* niche is generally placed within the *bema* itself, to the left, opposite the presbyter's seat.

These Cappadocian phenomena cannot be dismissed as provincial monastic practices; for although many of the furnishings are missing, the same arrangements seem to have been in use in Constantinople. Churches with a single-apsed sanctuary are not uncommon; one can cite, for example, the Toklu dede Mescidi, the Bogdan Sarayi, and the Theotokos Panagiotissa (Mougliotissa)[31]. All of these are diminutive churches with a nave and sanctuary spanning less than 10 m. The two former must have accommodated the *prothesis* in the niche just left of the apse within the chancel barrier; the third church, which was a quatrefoil plan with three niches in each apse, may have accommodated the *prothesis* either in the left niche of the main apse, or somewhere in the north conch. The three-*bema* arrangement of Cappadocia also appears in Constantinople at the famous church of Christ of Chōra (fig. 13-14). Here the main apse has a niche off-center to the left, evidently for the *prothesis*[32], while each of the flanking chapels is equipped with apse and niche. The fact that the south flanking chapel does not communicate with the main apse bears out its independence as a separate *bema;* on the other hand the fact that the north flanking chapel does not communicate with the nave underlines its unsuitability for *prothesis* functions in relation to the main apse. Beyond the Lips church, therefore, there is considerable evidence in Constantinople that the liturgy was being celebrated on a reduced, private scale, whether in churches of miniature size or in small chapels annexed to larger churches. Further monuments to be considered in the same category might be the gallery-level chapels of Hag. Eirēnē and the Gül Camii, and the multiplied east-end chapels on the ground level at Theotokos Pammakaristos, the Kalenderhane Camii, and the Vefa Kilise Camii.



14. Church of Christ of Chōra, Constantinople. South flanking chapel, showing apse and prothesis *niche. Photo Mathews.*

Literary evidence for the privatization of the Byzantine liturgy is still scarce, but it is hoped that by drawing attention to some of the documents further sources can be brought to light. Curiously enough, the earliest literary evidence comes from Sinai's patriarchal see of Alexandria, only a generation or two after Justinian's church. The evidence is found in the life of St. John the Almsgiver, appointed by Heraclius in 610 as the orthodox, i.e. Chalcedonian, bishop of Alexandria. The saint's biographer and contemporary, Leontius of Neapolis, narrates the manner in which St. John sought to correct a government official who could not be persuaded to be reconciled with a personal enemy.

"One day the Saint sent and had him fetched on the pretext of some public business, and as soon as he had come the Patriarch held a service in his oratory, no one else being present save his syncellus. After the Patriarch had said the prayer of consecration and had pronounced the opening words of the Lord's Prayer, the three of them began to repeat the Prayer. When they got to the sentence : 'Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors,' the Patriarch made a sign to the syncellus to stop, and he himself stopped, too, and the magistrate commenced saying all by himself 'Forgive us as we forgive[33].'"

The situation could not be clearer. We are dealing with a personal oratory (the text says ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ αὐτοῦ), probably located within the episcopal residence (for reasons we will see in the next passage), and the bishop is celebrating the divine liturgy with only his secretary (in the role of deacon, one presumes) and the magistrate. Beyond this we can also assume, and this is significant, that we are dealing with a weekday celebration, since on Sundays and holidays the bishop would have been expected to celebrate publicly for his parishioners.

A second reference to the private celebration of the liturgy is found in a passage where the Saint deals with certain parishioners who were in the habit of leaving the public, cathedral liturgy after the Gospel to stand outside and talk.

"Directly after the Gospel had been read in the church, (the Saint) slipped away and came out himself and sat down outside with the crowd. And when everybody was amazed, the just man said to them : 'Children, where the sheep are, there also the shepherd must be. Come inside and I will come in; or stay here and I will stay, too. For I come down to the Holy Church for your sakes, since I could hold the service for myself in the bishop's house[34].'"

Clearly the bishop had an oratory within his own residence (ἐν τῷ ἐπισκοπείῳ) for his private use. Moreover, while the bishop was most anxious that as large a public as possible should attend the cathedral liturgy, he takes the extraordinary position that the congregation is entirely dispensible as far as the essential function of the liturgy is concerned. Evidently when the duties of caring for his flock did not require a public celebration he felt free to celebrate privately.

One might assume from these two texts that we

the monks beloved of God and said : 'I myself — after God — will take thought for your bodily needs, but you must make the salvation of my soul your care, so that your evening and night vigils may be set to my credit with God. But if you celebrate the liturgy in our cells, your own souls will gain the benefit[35].'"

Here we are dealing with a kind of spiritual profit-sharing plan. Each of the two monasteries was given a communal oratory in which the monks could gather for the chanting of the divine office. The plan required that in the chanting of the office (the text refers to ἡ λυχνικὴ καὶ ἡ νυκτερίνη ἀγρυπνία) the monks should pray for the bishop. At the same time each monastery had individual cells for the monks, and, according to the bishop's plan, if a monk celebrates the liturgy in his cell he may do so for his own personal benefit (εἴ τινα δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἡμέτεροις κελλίοις λειτουργίαν ποιήσητε, ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔσται ψυχῶν). Strange as it sounds, it is difficult to avoid the impression that the monks customarily gathered in their common church for the chanting of the divine office, but that for the divine liturgy they were allowed to go to their separate cells. Yet the situation is understandable if one assumes that it is again the weekday liturgy that is in question. The Early Christian practice, which was continued far into the Middle Ages in many places, restricted the public liturgy to Saturday and Sunday; if we assume that the monks were expected to attend the Saturday and Sunday liturgy in common we must assume that they were permitted to celebrate for their own devotion on other days in private.

The *Life of St. John the Almsgiver* informs us that in Alexandria a private liturgy was known both in a monastic setting and in the episcopal residence at the beginning of the seventh century. Evidence from Constantinople later in the century points in a similar direction. In the *Patria* we are informed that the Patriarch Sergius (610-638) "established all the oratories of Hagia Sophia in the *katêchoumena* (i.e., galleries), donating to them many gold and silver vessels and those whose devotion was not satisfied with a liturgy restricted to weekends and holy days. But by the end of the century the practice received a conciliar endorsement that seems to embrace the private domestic celebration of the liturgy regardless of the day. Canon 31 of the Quinisextum Council reads : "We decree that those clerics who happen to be celebrating the liturgy or baptizing in domestic oratories in homes should do so with the knowledge of the bishop of the place[37]." The canon contains no hint of disapproval of the practice, but only insists that it belongs under the jurisdiction of the local ecclesiastical authority. The reference to baptism implies that the domestic oratory was being used for the full range of liturgical services for the household to which it was attached. It would seem, therefore, that by this time the practice of a private liturgy had gained wide popularity, whether celebrated in monastic cells, in the bishop's residence, or in a family chapel. It is in this light that one must view the multiplication of little chapels — sometimes adjoining a larger church and sometimes separate — in Sinai, in Cappadocia and in Constantinople. What was probably a monastic practice in origin paved the way eventually for the family chapel which radically altered the pattern of "churching" the population in medieval Byzantium.

Byzantine law provided for and promoted the founding of these private churches (εὐκτήριοι οἶκοι), and this aspect of the sources has been extensively researched by E. Herman[38]. Not only great landowners, but anyone who could afford to express his piety in this fashion could erect a church or chapel. Such a church remained the property of the founder who could sell, lease, or bequeath it, though he was enjoined from alienating it from religious purposes once established. The founder could appoint the priest, subject to episcopal approval, but with this right went the obligation usually of providing for the priest's livelihood and the services in the church. Monastic churches too legally fell within the same category of εὐκτήριοι οἶκοι, and monas-

in fact this was the direction which the evolution took. The church became a family or neighborhood possession, and while the liturgy in its performance became ever more remote and invisible to the laity, in its physical dimension it became ever more intimate and domesticated.

Present evidence for the privatization of the Byzantine liturgy points to a number of areas of possible research. From the point of view of archeology much data has gone unobserved simply due to an a priori presumption against the existence of a private liturgy in Byzantium. A more objective review of the material should uncover considerable new evidence of the functioning of Byzantine architecture. Among literary sources the lives of the saints deserve new attention from this point of view, especially since the usual liturgical sources of *typica* and commentaries are by their nature concerned generally with the public and official conduct of worship. In medieval villages one would like to know a great

pel. In the eighteenth century Allatios tells us, "In some monasteries there are as many parecclesia as there are days in the week. In these, except on Sundays and on the feast-days of saints when it is required of all monks to attend the services, one of the monks to whom the duty falls, and who is called the ἑβδομαδάριος, celebrates the rite — one day in one parecclesium, the next day in another. In this way by the time a week has passed he has celebrated in as many parecclesia[42]."

On the other hand a sixteenth century Russian traveller in Sinai reported, "Le couvent du Sinai possède en tout vingt-cinq églises et chapelles; l'office divin est célébré dans chacune d'elles[43]." To what extent such practices reflect medieval observances has yet to be investigated.

NOTES

1. On the literature of the commentaries on the Byzantine liturgy see René Bornert, *Les Commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie du VIIe au XVe siècle*, Paris, 1966.

2. On the Lechaion Basilica see R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, Baltimore, 1965, pp. 99-101 ; on the churches of Kastoria see the recent article by A.W. Epstein, "Middle Byzantine Churches of Kastoria : Dates and Implications," *Art Bulletin*, LXII, 1980, pp. 190-207.

3. T.F. Mathews, *The Early churches of Constantinople : Architecture and Liturgy*, University Park, Penn., 1971, pp. 138-147.

4. In addition to the references in Mathews, *Early Churches*, pp. 144-145, one should note the references to a place for the salutation (πρόσρησις) of the bishop in the atria of St. Sergius and St. Stephen at Gaza. Coricius, *Laudatio Marciani*, I, 22 and II, 33, ed. R. Foerster, *Choricii Gonaei Opera*, Leipzig, 1929, pp. 8 and 36.

5. On all aspects of this ceremony and its evolution see the recent monograph by Robert F. Taft, *The Great Entrance, A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Pre-anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 200, Rome, 1975.

6. On the introduction of litanies and antiphons at the beginning of the liturgy see Juan Mateos, *La Célébration de la Parole dans la liturgie byzantine, Étude historique*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 191, Rome, 1971. In Constantinople the patriarch continued for some time to enter the cathedral solemnly from his adjacent living quarters, letting lesser clergy attend to the opening litanies, Mateos, pp. 76-79. Generally, however, the development of the *prothesis* ceremony, that is the private blessing of the bread and wine before the start of the liturgy, required the presence of the celebrant in the sanctuary before the litanies. This order of events is attested to by Germanus in the eighth century. *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ch. 20-22 ; ed. Nilo Borgia, *Il commentario liturgico di s. Germano*, Grottaferrata, 1912, pp. 19-21.

7. Nicholas Cabasilas, *Commentary*, ch. 20, ed. S. Salaville et al., Nicholas Cabasilas, *Explication de la Divine Liturgie, Sources Chrétiennes, 4*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1967, p. 146.

8. Taft, *Great Entrance*, pp. 1-10, 178-203.

9. Taft, *Great Entrance*, pp. 413-416 ; Mathews, *Early Churches*, pp. 162-171.

10. We still lack a thorough history of the de-

velopment from templon screen to iconostasis. Cf. J. Walter, "The Origins of the Iconostasis," *Eastern Churches Review*, 3, 1971, pp. 251-267. The eleventh century churches of Cappadocia sometimes show an arcade screening the sanctuary, but it is significant that icons do not appear on these arcades even when the rest of the church is covered with frescoes.

11. Nicholaus Andidorum, *Protheoria*, 21, PG. 140, col. 445. For Nichetas see Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 412.

12. Taft, *Great Entrance*, pp. 411-412. Walter assumed a general use of curtains in the Middle Byzantine period. Cf., *op. cit.*, p. 258.

13. On the *synthronon* at Hag. Eirēnē see U. Peschlow, *Die Irenenkirch in Istanbul, Untersuchungen zur Architektur, Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, beiheft 18, Tübingen, 1977, pp. 24-25. For the other churches see Mathews, *Early Churches*, pp. 26-27, 66, 99.

14. A Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XVII, 1963, p. 336 and fig. A.

15. On the evidence for concelebration in the Byzantine rite see R. Taft, "Ex Oriente Lux? Some Reflections on Eucharistic Concelebration," *Worship*, LIV, 1980, 308-325. In the nave of Tokali seating is provided for the chanting of the divine office, which gives us a nice picture of the size of the monastic community which the church served. The benches along the north, south and west walls seated 15 monks at the most (one in each recess); along the east wall in front of the chancel are three arm chairs for priests and benches between them for another two or four monks. If necessary another ten monks could be accommodated in the west nave of the "old church." One is dealing, then, with a monastic community consisting of three priests and around 25 monks. Cf. G. de Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin : les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, Paris, 1932, I, 2, pp. 297-376.

16. Mathews, *Early Churches*, pp. 149-152.

17. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, Munich, 1897, I, pp. 160-163.

18. Quinisext Council, canon 29, Mansi, XI, 952.

19. For archeological evidence in Constantinople of the *solea* and *ambo* see Mathews, *Early Churches*, pp. 36-37, 53-54, 66, 70 and 98-99.

20. *Descriptio ambonis*, lines 244-251, ed. P. Friedlander, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius*, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 263-264.

21. Portable lecterns appear in Byzantine art in representations of Christ reading in the Synagogue.

22. R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 247; C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, New York, 1974, pp. 197-198.

23. G. Babić, *Les Chapelles annexes des églises byzantines : Fonction liturgique et programme iconographique*, Paris, 1969.

24. A. Megaw, "The Original Form of the Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XVIII, 1964, pp. 279-298.

25. T. Macridy, "The Monastery of Lips and the Burials of the Paleologi," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XVIII, 1964, pp. 253-278 and fig. 24-27.

26. I am deeply grateful to Prof. George H. Forsyth of the University of Michigan for his generosity in sharing the results of his archeological study of Sinai before his final publication of the material. In addition to the photographs of fig. 4-9, which Prof. Forsyth made available to me, I was also the beneficiary of his patient exposition of the material in conversation and correspondence.

27. G.H. Forsyth, "The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai : The Church and Fortress of Justinian," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXII, 1968, p. 11 and n. 13.

28. Fig. 5-7 correspond to plates XCIX-B, XCIII-B, and XCII-A in G.H. Forsyth and K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai, The Church and Fortress of Justinian*, plate volume, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1970.

29. I am indebted to Forsyth for this observation. On the masonry technique see his remarks in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXII, 1968, p. 7, n. 6.

30. Fig. 30 appears as plate IX-A in Forsyth and Weitzmann, *The Monastery of St. Catherine*. For other views of the chapel and its frescoes see plates IX-B, CXXXIV-A and B, CXXV-A to C. and CXCIV to CXCVIII.

31. T.F. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul : A Photographic Survey*, University Park, Penn., 1976, pp. 36-39, 366-382, with relevant bibliography.

32. Ibid., plate 8-24.

33. Leontius of Neapolis, *Life of John the Almsgiver*, ch. 39, ed. H. Gelzer, Leontios' von Neapolis Leben des Heiligen Iohannes des Barmherzigen, Sammlung ausgewahlter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften, V, Freiburg i.B. and Leipzig, 1893, pp. 78-79; trans. E. Dawes and N.H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints*, Oxford, 1977, p. 247.

34. Leontius, *Life*, ch. 42; ed. Gelzer, pp. 83-84; trans. Dawes and Baynes, p. 250.

35. Leontius, *Life*, ch. 42; ed. Gelzer, p. 85; trans. Dawes and Baynes, p. 251.

36. Ps. Codinus, *Patria Konstantinoupoleos*, ed. T. Preger, *Script. Orig. Const.*, Leipzig, 1906, II, p. 280. R. Cormack has corrected my earlier use of this text (*Early Churches*, p. 129) in a note in his article with E. Hawkins, "The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul : The Rooms above the Southwest Vestibule and Ramp.," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXXI, 1977, 199, n. 37.

37. Quinisext Council, canon 31 : τοὺς ἐν εὐκτηρίοις οἴκοις ἔνδον οἰκίας τυγχάνουσι λειτουργοῦντας ἢ βαπτίζοντας κληρικούς, ὑπὸ γνώμης τοῦτο πράττειν τοῦ κατὰ τόπον ἐπισκόπου ὁρίζομεν. Mansi, XI, 956.

38. E. Herman, "Die kirchlichen Einkunfte des byzantinischen Niederklerus," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, VII, 1942, pp. 378-442, esp. 419-425; "'Chiese private' e diritto di fondazione negli ultimi secoli dell'impero bizantino," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, XII, 1946, 302-321; "The Secular Church," in *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, part 2, Cambridge, 1967, pp. 104-133, esp. 116-125.

39. E. Herman, "Richerche sulle istituzioni monastiche bizantine : typica ktetorika, caristicari e monasteri 'liberi,'" *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, II, 1940, 293-375; P. Lemerle, "Un aspect du rôle des monastères à Byzance : Les Monastères donnés à des laïcs, les charisticaires," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles Lettres*, 1967, pp. 9-28.

40. E. Herman, *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, part 2, p. 118.

41. For a general introduction see D.E. Rogan, *Mani : History and Monuments*, Athens, 1973. In Kastoria Epstein has remarked on the pattern of family patronage in *Art Bulletin, LXII, 1980, 200-1*.

42. Leo Allatios, ch. 7, trans. A. Cutler, *The Newer Temples of the Greeks*, University Park, Penn., 1969, pp. 34-35.

43. S. Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, Geneva, 1889, p. 303.

I am grateful to Father Robert F. Taft, S.J., for calling this reference to my attention.

Observations on St Hṙipsimē

In an article of 1971 and an earlier monograph A.B. Eremian sought to connect the church of St Hṙipsimē, Vaɫaršapat, to Byzantinizing trends in seventh century Armenia[1]. Built by the catholicos Komitas in the year 618 to commemorate one of the founders of Armenian Christianity, this church is one of the finest examples of the early flowering of Armenian architecture. Eremian, focusing on the introduction of three windows in the apse, alleged connections with the Chalcedonian tendencies of the Armenian church in the seventh century.

To summarize her argument, Eremian points out what T'oromanian had observed before her, namely that the earliest Armenian churches generally had only a single window in the apse. In the year 632, however, the catholicos Ezr, bowing to Byzantine pressure, subscribed to the Chalcedonian creed. The new Greek allegiance of the hierarchy, Eremian maintained, was displayed in churches after that date by introducing three windows in the apse after the pattern of the cathedral of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. When it was completed in 618, according to Eremian, St Hṙipsimē had only a single window in the apse; the change from one to three windows must have been effected after 632 and it should be interpreted as reflecting the temporary alliance of Armenia with the Chalcedonian creed.

Unfortunately this thesis encounters a number of difficulties. In the first place it should be pointed out that the apse of Hagia Sophia contains not three but six windows, in two rows of three. Secondly, while three windows are common in Byzantium, a Chalcedonian symbolism seems unlikely, since the Chalcedonian debate revolved not around the number three, as in the Trinity, but the number two, as in the natures of Christ. But the most serious problem is that of the archaeology of St Hṙipsimē, in which an excessive number of hypotheses have been loaded on scanty reporting of the evidence. Perhaps a few observations can contribute to a closer archaeological study of the monument.

The only reliable plan of St Hṙipsimē remains that of T'oromanian used by Strzygowski; subsequent studies have usually adapted the plan by eliminating minor irregularities (pl. 1071)[2]. It was the observation of irregularities that suggested to Eremian that the east apse was re-built after 632, for it projects 18-20 cm beyond the line of the flanking corner chambers[3]. But Eremian here makes an elementary error in supposing that inconsistencies in measurement imply separate phases in construction. In St Hṙipsimē, corresponding features in the plan hardly ever match in measurements. The south wall is more than a half meter longer than the north wall (22.87 against 22.34 m), and the dimensions and positions of windows, doors, apses, and niches vary throughout the church, sometimes by more than a meter. If every irregularity represented a seperate building phase, we would have to imagine a veritable jig-saw puzzle of dozens of phases.

Changes in masonry are a much better index of successive building phases. On the east side of St Hṙipsimē the masonry below the windows is lighter in color and smoother in finish than the masonry in the window zone; and the same lighter and smoother stone can be observed in the gable and the courses below the roof line (pl. 1082,3). Evidently during some period of neglect the neatly cut revetment stones were being quarried from the monument in those areas where they were easiest to get at. Eremian dates the restored masonry here to the catholicos P'ilippos in 1653[4]. The continuity of masonry in the middle

1. A.B. Eremian, Sur certaines modifications subies par les monuments arméniennes au vii siècle, *REArm*, N.S. 8 (1971), 251-266; eadem, *La chiesa di S. Hṙipsimē*, tr. N. Cruciani (Milan 1972). The Italian edition omits some of the figures of the original Russian edition of Erevan, 1955.

2. J. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* (Vienna 1918), I, 92-94; see T. T'oromanian, *Nyut'er Haykakan Cartarapetut'yan Patmut'yan* (= Studies in the History of Armenian Architecture) (Erevan 1942, 1948), I, 291-294; II, 74-76.

3. Eremian, *La chiesa di S. Hṙipsimē*, 47.

4. *Ibid.*, 73-75.

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are dealing with an episcopal privilege, but a third text speaks of monastic priests celebrating in the privacy of their cells.

He collected two bodies of holy monks, arranged "that all their needs should be supplied from the lands belonging to him in his native city, built cells for them and appointed them to the two oratories, the one of our Lady, the holy Mother of God, and the other of St. John, which he had rebuilt from the foundations. Then he spake to the monks beloved of God and said : 'I myself – after God – will take thought for your bodily needs, but you must make the salvation of my soul your care, so that your evening and night vigils may be set to my credit with God. But if you celebrate the liturgy in our cells, your own souls will gain the benefit[35].'"

Here we are dealing with a kind of spiritual profit-sharing plan. Each of the two monasteries was given a communal oratory in which the monks could gather for the chanting of the divine office. The plan required that in the chanting of the office (the text refers to ἡ λυχνικὴ καὶ ἡ νυκτερινὴ ἀγρυπνία) the monks should pray for the bishop. At the same time each monastery had individual cells for the monks, and, according to the bishop's plan, if a monk celebrates the liturgy in his cell he may do so for his own personal benefit (εἴ τινα δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἡμέτεροις κελλίοις λειτουργίαν ποιήσητε, ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔσται ψυχῶν). Strange as it sounds, it is difficult to avoid the impression that the monks customarily gathered in their common church for the chanting of the divine office, but that for the divine liturgy they were allowed to go to their separate cells. Yet the situation is understandable if one assumes that it is again the weekday liturgy that is in question. The Early Christian practice, which was continued far into the Middle Ages in many places, restricted the public liturgy to Saturday and Sunday; if we assume that the monks were expected to attend the Saturday and Sunday liturgy in common we must assume that they were permitted to celebrate for their own devotion on other days in private.

The *Life of St. John the Almsgiver* informs us that in Alexandria a private liturgy was known both in a monastic setting and in the episcopal residence at the beginning of the seventh century. Evidence from Constantinople later in the century points in a similar direction. In the *Patria* we are informed that the Patriarch Sergius (610-638) "established all the oratories of Hagia Sophia in the *katēchoumena* (i.e., galleries), donating to them many gold and silver vessels and purple linens interwoven with gold and treasures in abundance[36]." Even allowing for the author's tendency to exaggerate, the casual reference is valuable information, for it not only documents the existence of oratories in the galleries of Hagia Sophia, but the mention of the gifts of vessels and linens clearly indicates that the oratories were equipped for the celebration of the divine liturgy. As in Alexandria we are probably dealing with chapels intended for a weekday liturgy for those whose devotion was not satisfied with a liturgy restricted to weekends and holy days. But by the end of the century the practice received a conciliar endorsement that seems to embrace the private domestic celebration of the liturgy regardless of the day. Canon 31 of the Quinisextum Council reads : "We decree that those clerics who happen to be celebrating the liturgy or baptizing in domestic oratories in homes should do so with the knowledge of the bishop of the place[37]." The canon contains no hint of disapproval of the practice, but only insists that it belongs under the jurisdiction of the local ecclesiastical authority. The reference to baptism implies that the domestic oratory was being used for the full range of liturgical services for the household to which it was attached. It would seem, therefore, that by this time the practice of a private liturgy had gained wide popularity, whether celebrated in monastic cells, in the bishop's residence, or in a family chapel. It is in this light that one must view the multiplication of little chapels – sometimes adjoining a larger church and sometimes separate – in Sinai, in Cappadocia and in Constantinople. What was probably a monastic practice in origin paved the way eventually for the family chapel which radically altered the pattern of "churching" the population in medieval Byzantium.

Byzantine law provided for and promoted the founding of these private churches (εὐκτήριοι οἶκοι), and this aspect of the sources has been extensively researched by E. Herman[38]. Not only great landowners, but anyone who could afford to express his piety in this fashion could erect a church or chapel. Such a church remained the property of the founder who could sell, lease, or bequeath it, though he was enjoined from alienating it from religious purposes once established. The founder could appoint the priest, subject to episcopal approval, but with this right went the obligation usually of providing for the priest's livelihood and the services in the church. Monastic churches too legally fell within the same category of εὐκτήριοι οἶκοι, and monastic property was also generally in the hands of a lay owner, the χαριστικάριος[39]. As a result "catholic" churches, that is churches immediately dependent on the bishop, became an ever smaller minority of the total number of churhes; in 15th century Constantinople only eight churches were counted "catholic" against over two hundred privates churches[40].

Of course, churches that were private legally did not have to be private or miniature in scale. Yet in fact this was the direction which the evolution took. The church became a family or neighborhood possession, and while the liturgy in its performance became ever more remote and invisible to the laity, in its physical dimension it became ever more intimate and domesticated.

Present evidence for the privatization of the Byzantine liturgy points to a number of areas of possible research. From the point of view of archeology much data has gone unobserved simply due to an a priori presumption against the existence of a private liturgy in Byzantium. A more objective review of the material should uncover considerable new evidence of the functioning of Byzantine architecture. Among literary sources the lives of the saints deserve new attention from this point of view, especially since the usual liturgical sources of *typica* and commentaries are by their nature concerned generally with the public and official conduct of worship. In medieval villages one would like to know a great deal more about the patterns of family patronage in relation to church building. In places like Kastoria and Mani it seems clear that the extended family was the unit for churching, but the evidence has never been systematically examined[41]. Finally, in the monastic celebration of the liturgy one would like to know more about the day-to-day calendar of liturgical observance. In post-medieval times one reads of the practice of a rotating liturgy moving daily from chapel to chapel. In the eighteenth century Allatios tells us,

"In some monasteries there are as many parecclesia as there are days in the week. In these, except on Sundays and on the feast-days of saints when it is required of all monks to attend the services, one of the monks to whom the duty falls, and who is called the ἑβδομαδάριος, celebrates the rite – one day in one parecclesium, the next day in another. In this way by the time a week has passed he has celebrated in as many parecclesia[42]."

On the other hand a sixteenth century Russian traveller in Sinai reported, "Le couvent du Sinai possède en tout vingt-cinq églises et chapelles; l'office divin est célébré dans chacune d'elles[43]." To what extent such practices reflect medieval observances has yet to be investigated.

NOTES

1. On the literature of the commentaries on the Byzantine liturgy see René Bornert, *Les Commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie du VIIe au XVe siècle*, Paris, 1966.

2. On the Lechaion Basilica see R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, Baltimore, 1965, pp. 99-101; on the churches of Kastoria see the recent article by A.W. Epstein, "Middle Byzantine Churches of Kastoria : Dates and Implications," *Art Bulletin*, LXII, 1980, pp. 190-207.

3. T.F. Mathews, *The Early churches of Constantinople : Architecture and Liturgy*, University Park, Penn., 1971, pp. 138-147.

4. In addition to the references in Mathews, *Early Churches*, pp. 144-145, one should note the references to a place for the salutation (προσρησις) of the bishop in the atria of St. Sergius and St. Stephen at Gaza. Coricius, *Laudatio Marciani*, I, 22 and II, 33, ed. R. Foerster, *Choricii Gonaei Opera*, Leipzig, 1929, pp. 8 and 36.

5. On all aspects of this ceremony and its evolution see the recent monograph by Robert F. Taft, *The Great Entrance, A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Preanaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 200, Rome, 1975.

6. On the introduction of litanies and antiphons at the beginning of the liturgy see Juan Mateos, *La Célébration de la Parole dans la liturgie byzantine, Étude historique, Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 191, Rome, 1971. In Constantinople the patriarch continued for some time to enter the cathedral solemnly from his adjacent living quarters, letting lesser clergy attend to the opening litanies, Mateos, pp. 76-79. Generally, however, the development of the *prothesis* ceremony, that is the private blessing of the bread and wine before the start of the liturgy, required the presence of the celebrant in the sanctuary before the litanies. This order of events is attested to by Germanus in the eighth century. *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ch. 20-22 ; ed. Nilo Borgia, *Il commentario liturgico di s. Germano*, Grottaferrata, 1912, pp. 19-21.

7. Nicholas Cabasilas, *Commentary*, ch. 20, ed. S. Salaville et al., Nicholas Cabasilas, *Explication de la Divine Liturgie, Sources Chrétiennes, 4*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1967, p. 146.

8. Taft, *Great Entrance*, pp. 1-10, 178-203.

9. Taft, *Great Entrance*, pp. 413-416 ; Mathews, *Early Churches*, pp. 162-171.

10. We still lack a thorough history of the de-

zone, however, argues for the contemporaneity of the central apse with the chambers on either side. The abrupt discontinuance of the windows' hood molding in the niches on either side is not evidence of a revision but a deliberate design feature that appears again in the seventh century churches of T'ališ (Aruč) and Sisian[5]. The only other alteration observable in the apse is the fill in the lateral windows, which should be dated with the seventeenth century repairs. The three windows, then, seem to be part of the original design of 618, not a Chalcedonian renovation later in the century.

Other features of St Hṙipsimē, however, still in the pre-Chalcedonian period of the building, show striking points of contact with Byzantine architecture — once one grants the basic difference of a revetment in volcanic stone of Armenia.

In the development of Armenian architecture the most significant feature of St Hṙipsimē is its cupola which places a windowed drum on a circular cornice. (pl. 1094-5). The cornice is not a true circle but is flattened somewhat on four sides. Eremian, again arguing from irregularities in measurement, attributes the cupola to the tenth century[6]. But Mnac'akanyan reported finding masons' marks in the cupola that match those found in the body of the church[7]. Moreover parallels for the decoration of the dome —tongues radiating from the center and the band of concentric circles at the base— can be found in seventh century churches at Talinn and Mastara[8].

The design of the cupola should be compared to that of Hagia Sophia. As at the cathedral of Constantinople, a set-back above the cornice provides a walk-way around the drum and neatly separates the unit of drum and dome from the vessel of space in the nave of the church. Exteriorly too there are notable similarities in the massing of simple geometric shapes, placing a circle upon a large cubical base (pl. 1094). The cubical base conceals two very different support systems: a squinch system at St Hṙipsimē and pendentives at Hagia Sophia; still the Armenian architect seems conscious of the direction that Byzantine architecture had taken.

More striking, because more unusual, is the placement of turrets on the corners of the cubical base at St Hṙipsimē. This is an *unicum* in Armenian architecture. Eremian wanted to interpret them as counter-weights to give stability to the drum[9]; however they are hollow and they provide access from the cornice walk-way to crawl space above the squinch vaults. Both in form and function they are parallel to the turrets that surmount the western half-dome of Hagia Sophia, which are also part of the access system for maintenance of the roofs[10]. This, of course, is a standard feature of the great vaulted structures of Roman architecture; the massive walls of Roman baths commonly conceal narrow access stairs to the roofs, which finished in turrets above, such as those still visible above the facade of the mausoleum of Sta Costanza, Rome. It is not clear that a building of the modest scale of St Hṙipsimē needed so elaborate an access system, but it does offer an interesting link to Roman and Constantinopolitan building practice.

The liturgical planning of St Hṙipsimē also connects the church to Byzantine usages, though sometimes the connections are clearer to the Holy Land than to the capital. The elevation of the sanctuary of St Hṙipsimē 1.2 m above the level of the nave is a standard feature of Armenian liturgical planning, which is not paralleled in Byzantine architecture. The crypt beneath the sanctuary, however, has many parallels in Palestine. Eremian takes the crypt of St Hṙipsimē as part of an earlier, fifth century martyrium of the saint; but the crypt appears integral to the seventh century church (pl. 1106-8)[11]. In Palestine, besides the famous churches of the Nativity at Bethlehem or the Eleona on the Mount of Olives, the recently discovered fifth century churches at Rehovot and at Horvat Berachot provide examples of barrel-vaulted crypts under the sanctuary[12].

5. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art*, tr. S. Bourne and A. O'Shea (London 1978), pl. 13 and 52; J.-M. Thierry and P. Donabédian, *Les Arts Arméniens* (Paris 1987), pl. 839.

6. *Ibid.*, 52-64.

7. See Mnac'akanyan's discussion of St Hṙipsimē in B.N. Arak'elyan, *Aknark Hay Cartarapetut'yan Patmut'yan* (= Survey of Armenian Architectural History) (Erevan 1964), 147-150. I am grateful to Nina G. Garsoian for reading this passage for me.

8. G. de Francovich et al., *Architettura medievale armena* (Rome 1968), pls 33, 35 and 53.

9. Eremian, *La chiesa di S. Hṙipsimē*, 61.

10. The access system at St Hṙipsimē, as described by Eremian, further provides trap doors leading from the cornice walk-way to space above the barrel vaults of the four arms; and the space over the west arm is linked to crawl space over the northwest corner chamber, which can be reached through a trap door in the groin vault of that chamber. *Ibid.*, figs 24-25.

11. Eremian, *op. cit.*, 75-79.

12. Yoram Tsafrir et al., *Excavations at Rehovot in the Negev*, I, The Northern Church, Qedem, 25 (Jerusalem 1988); Yoram Tsafrir and Yizhar Hirschfeld, The Church and Mosaics at Horvat Berachot, Israel, *DOP* 33 (1979), 291-328.

The design of St Hṙipsimē incorporates four nearly identical chambers in the corners of the cross plan. Each measures about four meters square and each is provided with an absidiole against the east wall. The two western chambers had entrances from the outside which were later walled up; the north-eastern chamber gives access to the crypt. Eremian, following a lead by T'oromanian, proposed that the western chambers were a narthex area for catechumens while the eastern chambers were for the use of the clergy[13]. The northeast chamber, she proposes, was the residence of the titular priest and the place for consignment of offerings; the southeast was the residence of the priest's assistants. After 630, when the catholicos Ezr built a *zamatun* at the nearby church of St Gayane, the two eastern chambers lost their residential function and became simply sacristies.

The conciliar canons that Eremian cites, however, do not support her argument. Eremian cites canon 15 of the Council of Dvin of 555 (better 551), and canon 19 of Dvin of 719, neither of which mentions the residence of the clergy[14]. On the other hand the first canon of the Council of Dvin of 551 implies a clear separation between the residence of the clergy and the church building, in that it prohibits the setting up of altars and the celebration of the liturgy in the homes of the clergy[15]. This prohibition, moreover, attests to the tendency of the clergy to celebrate the liturgy in private, a development noted both in episcopal and monastic settings in Alexandria, in the *Life of John the Almsgiver* (d. 641), and in Constantinople, in the Council of Troullo (692)[16]. The Council of Dvin, like the Council of Troullo, did not legislate against the private celebration of liturgy itself (whether for weekday liturgies of for personal reasons), but sought to bring the practice back into the church building where it could be housed with suitable dignity and controlled by the bishop. It is to this development that the corner chambers at St Hṙipsimē should be attributed, and the provision of absidioles for altars in each of the chambers would seem to bear this out. None of the alleged functions of narthex, residence, or sacristy explains the existence of these absidioles.

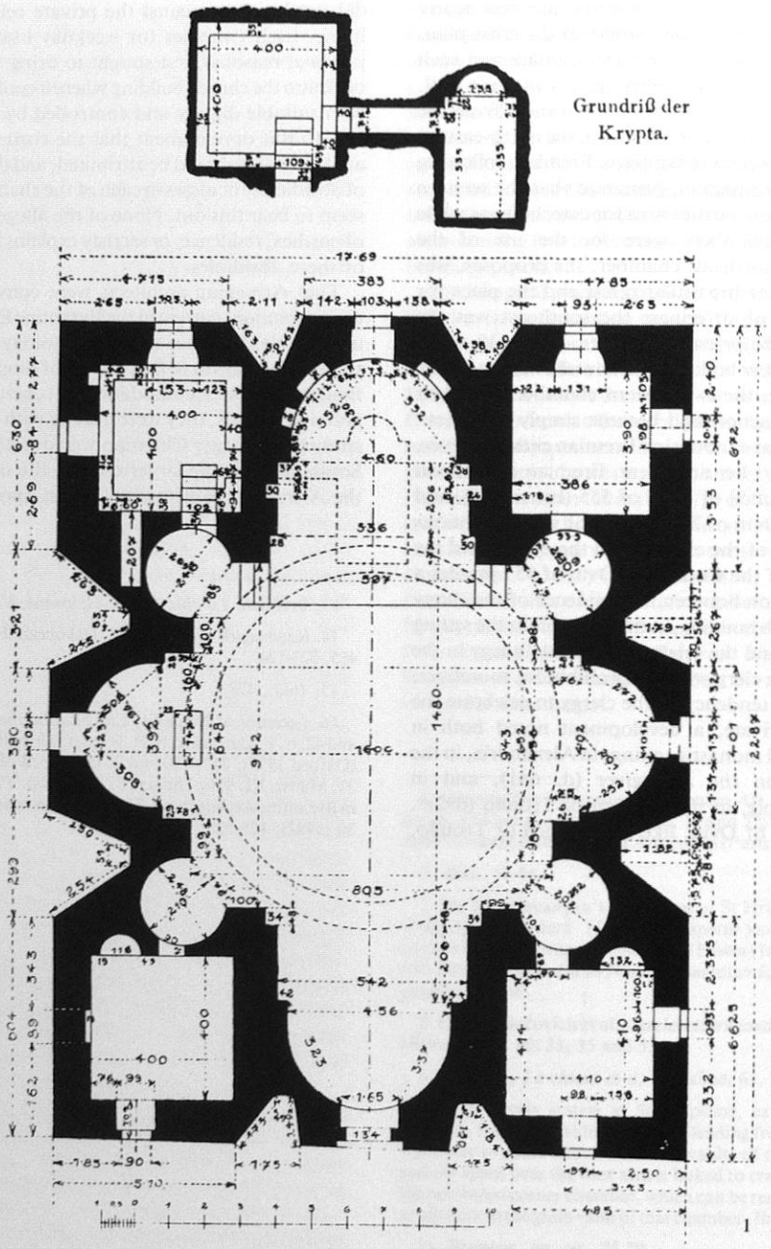
That Armenian architects were conversant with design solutions current in the Byzantine Empire seems undeniable. Whether in the technology of concrete vaulted buildings or in the massing of simple geometric figures or in the accomodation of functions of crypt and side chapels, they were dealing with issues under study in the larger Christian world to the West and South. It is in this larger context the originality of the Armenian contribution is best appreciated.

13. Eremian, *La chiesa di S. Hṙipsimē*, 67-73.

14. *Kanonagirk Hayoc'*, ed. V. Hakobean (Erevan 1964), I, 485, 523-524.

15. *Ibid.*, 478.

16. Leontius of Neapolis, *Life of John the Almsgiver*, 39 and 42, tr. E. Dawes and N.H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford 1977), 247, 250 and 251; Council of Trullo, canon 31, Mansi, XI, 956; Thomas F. Mathews, 'Private' Liturgy in Byzantine Architecture: Toward a Reassessment, *CahArch* 30 (1982), 125-138.



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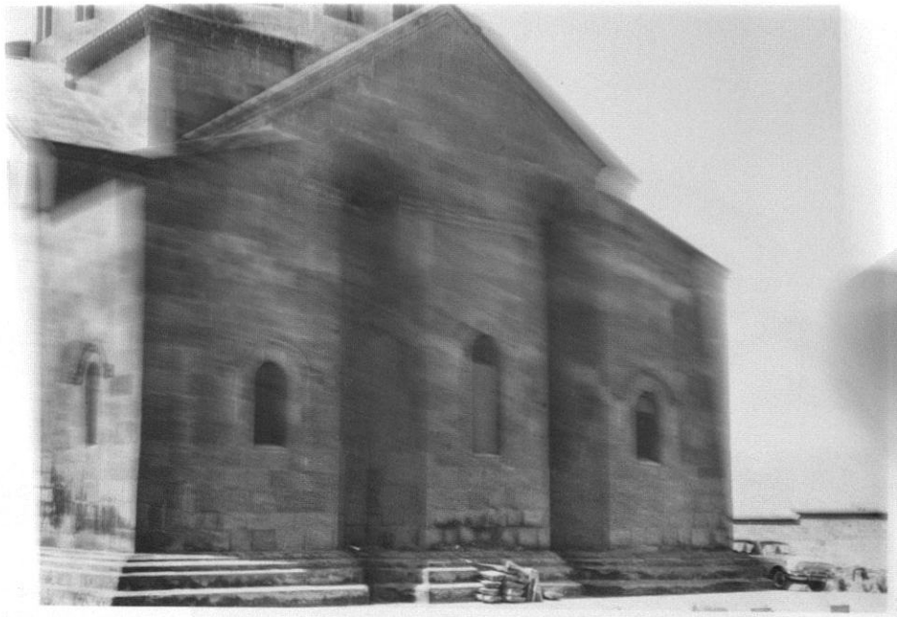
1. Plan of St Hṙipsimē by T. T'oromanian (Strzygowski, 1918).



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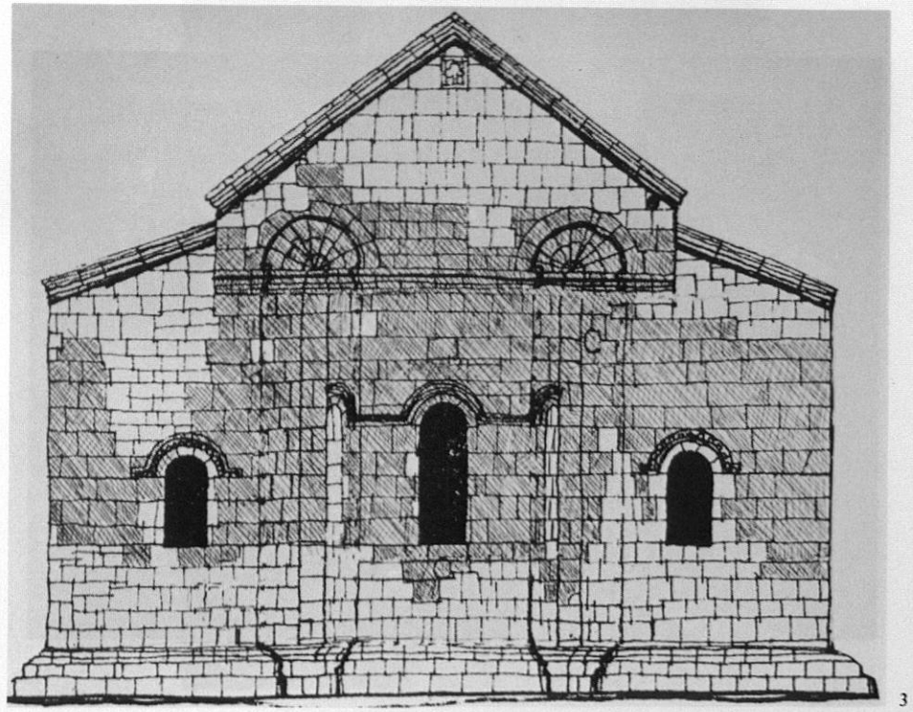

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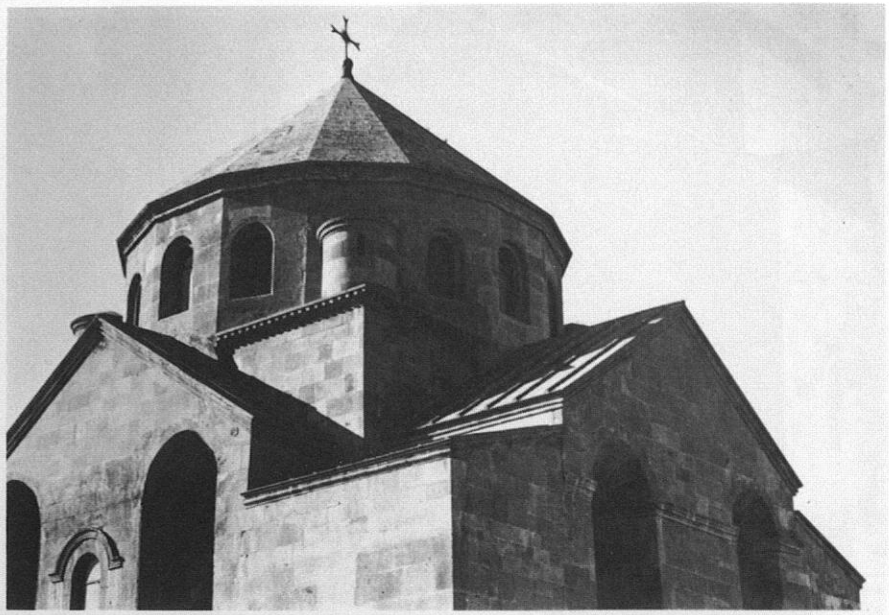
2. St Hṙipsimē, east side (photo A. Taylor).
3. Elevation of St Hṙipsimē, east side (Eremian, fig. 23) with hatching added to indicate original masonry.



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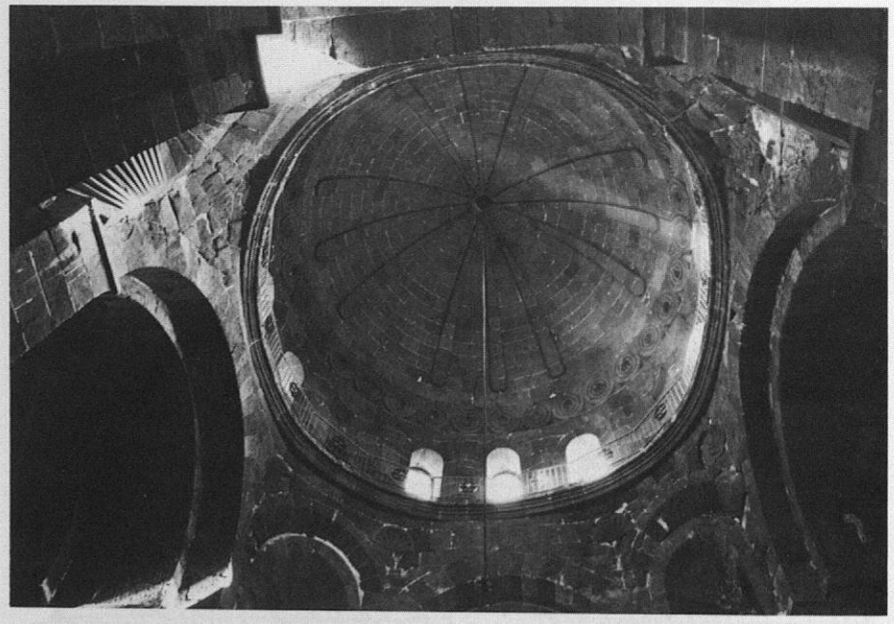

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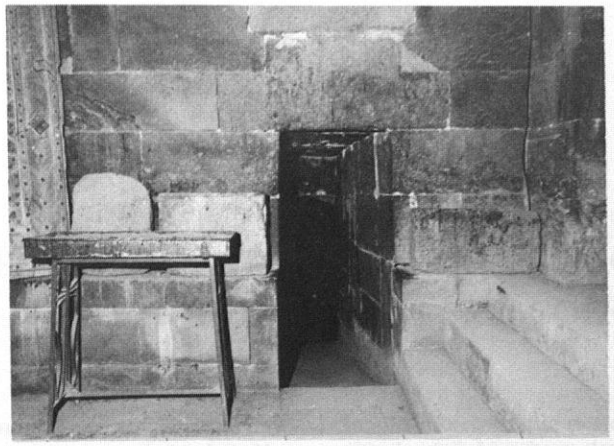
4. St Hṙipsimē dome from southeast (photo T. Mathews).
5. St Hṙipsimē, dome interior, with south below (photo T. Mathews).



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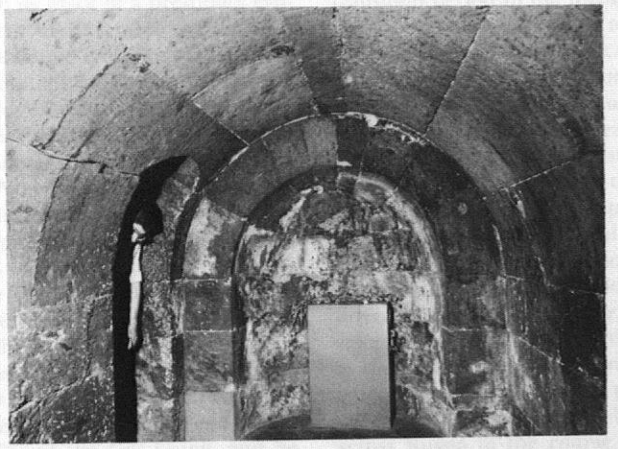

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6. St Hṙipsimē, crypt entrance (photo M. Falla-Castelfranchi).
7. St Hṙipsimē, crypt looking east (photo M. Falla-Castelfranchi).
8. St Hṙipsimē, crypt looking west (photo M. Falla-Castelfranchi).

V

NOTES ON THE ATIK MUSTAFA PAŞA CAMII IN ISTANBUL AND ITS FRESCOES

To an earlier generation of architectural historians the principal interest of the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii lay in its place in a presumed evolutionary development of Byzantine architecture that advanced from a simple cross-domed type into the "standard" four-column or cross-in-square type edifice. A. Van Millingen described the evolution in the following terms: "From a church of this type to the later four-columned plan is but a step. The dome piers of Sts. Peter and Mark (his name for the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii) are still L-shaped, and form the internal angles of the cross. As the arches between such piers and the external walls increased in size, the piers became smaller, until eventually they were reduced to the typical four columns of the late churches."[1] In keeping with this theory, Van Millingen grouped the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii with two other, somewhat more elaborate versions of the cross-domed plan, namely, the Kalenderhane Camii and the Gül Camii, and he dated the three of them to the tenth century.[2] J. Ebersolt, publishing a year later, made the same grouping as Van Millingen, both reflecting the conceptual framework already found in C. Diehl who thought he recognized in these three monuments "un édifice de transition."[3]

The missing links in this chain of evolution, however, were never found, and architectural historians have come to accept the existence side by side of a number of different building types in Byzantine architecture; the different types develop in parallel rather than consecutively.[4] In Constantinople, moreover, the two monuments associated with the Atik have been shown to belong not to a transition period in the formative years of Middle Byzantine architecture but to a period considerably later. The recessed brick technique used in the substructures of the Gül Camii indicates a date in the eleventh or twelfth century;[5] coin and pottery finds in undisturbed fill beneath the Kalenderhane Camii give a date in the last two decades of the twelfth century.[6] This seems to leave the Atik alone as the earliest Constantinopolitan example of a cross-domed church (and indeed the first Constantinopolitan church after Iconoclasm). If such a date could be sustained, the building would have considerable importance for the discussion of the development and diffusion of this building type, for, as R. Krautheimer pointed out, it was this building type, with its heavy crossing piers and simple, barrel-vaulted corner bays, that became "canonical" all across Russia in the course of the eleventh century.[7] But if the earlier evolutionary argument for the date of the monument is put aside, the place of the building in Byzantine architecture becomes an open issue. In fact, W. Müller-Wiener has recently assigned it a date in the eleventh or twelfth century.[8]

Although some attention has been given to the problem of the historical identification of the building—a problem to which we will return at the

[1] A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* (London, 1912), 194.
[2] *Ibid.*, 164–95 and 332–35.
[3] J. Ebersolt and A. Thiers, *Les églises de Constantinople* (Paris, 1913), 93–136; C. Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin* (Paris, 1910), 408.
[4] R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore, 1975), 355–62.
[5] H. Schäfer, *Die Gül Camii in Istanbul. Ein Beitrag zur mittelbyzantinischen Kirchenarchitektur Konstantinopels*. IstMitt, Beiheft 7 (1973), 77–81. Schäfer prefers a date in the mid-twelfth century, but the evidence does not permit that precision. See review by Mathews in *Architectura*, 5 (1975), 191.
[6] C. L. Striker and Y. D. Kuban, "Work at Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul: Fourth Preliminary Report," *DOP*, 25 (1971), 258.
[7] Krautheimer, *Early Christian*, 309–10.
[8] W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen, 1977), 82.

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close of these notes—virtually nothing has been said about the physical evidence of the building itself. This is due in part to the present state of the monument. The Turkish use of the building dating from before 1512 has entailed several radical modifications: the cupola has been replaced with a low, windowless dome; the narthex, with a porch and minaret; interior decoration and furnishings have been removed; and the fenestration has been thoroughly revised. Most recently a new cement footing has been poured around the exterior walls, and the mosque property has been surrounded with a high stone wall. The special sanctity of the mosque as the revered resting place of the seventh-century warrior of Islam, Hazreti Cabir, has precluded archeological investigation of the site. Nevertheless, the building in its present state still offers some significant evidence bearing on its date as well as evidence for its original shape. This evidence consists in the visible shapes and forms of the architecture and in the record of its successive building phases now exposed in the exterior masonry. Comprehensive photography of the monument now permits close analysis of this evidence.[9] In addition, an early measured plan and elevation, made before 1920 for the Eski Eserleri Koruma Encumeni (Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments) adds new precision to the measurements available in published plans and elevations.[10] Working from these photographs and from these earlier drawings it has been possible to draft reconstructions of the original appearance of the east and south façades. While not guaranteed to the centimeter, these reconstructions can be proven correct in all major features. Beyond the architectural interest of the monument, frescoes were uncovered in 1956 in the arcade of the south exterior wall which have remained until now unpublished. These are of interest to the history of Paleologan painting in the capital, and they have recently been cited as evidence for the original dedication of the church.[11] It therefore seemed to us useful to present together these various kinds of evidence bearing on the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii.

[9] I am indebted to Ihsan Erzi, director of the Vakıflar Ministry of Mosques, who graciously granted permission for photography. T.F.M.

[10] These drawings were brought to my attention by Nezih Fıratlı, late director of the Istanbul Archeological Museum. For permission to publish these drawings I am indebted to Bekir Sukru Egeli, secretary of the Eski Eserleri Koruma Encumeni. T.F.M.

[11] B. Aran, "The Nunnery of the Anargyres and the Atik Mustafa Pasha Mosque," *JÖB*, 26 (1977), 252.

1. *The Articulation of the East End and the Dating of the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii*

Three apses project on the east end, each of which has three facets (fig. 5). The double sawtooth moulding at the top, which regularizes the roofline all around the building, is Turkish; it was visible a hundred years ago when Paspates made his lithograph.[12] Some windows have been walled up in Turkish times, others have been reshaped, and still others opened up where there had been none. Further, some passages of masonry have been repaired and some plastered over in Turkish times. In spite of these alterations, however, an analysis of the masonry reveals the original articulation (figs. 6–7).[13]

In the center apse the insertion of the mihrab on the interior required closing up the center window (figs. 2, 13), at which time a new rectangular window was cut above the closed window. Two important details can be noticed in the design of the original filled window. First, the window was recessed, for the brick reveal is visible along the left side with a corresponding indentation in the covering cement on the right. T. Traquair, Van Millingen's architect collaborator, observed this in his plan of the building,[14] and this is perfectly in keeping with the recessed treatment of the openings on the south side, where some have retained their original shape (figs. 8, 10). The fact that the four remaining round-headed windows on the east no longer have their set-backs is due to filling in over the reveals when new window frames were installed. The second important detail to be observed is the full height of the center window. Following down the right and left edges of this window, one does not encounter continuous courses of masonry until one gets to a level just below the sills of the Turkish windows in the right and left side facets of the apse. The original three windows of the center apse were of matching height; the rectangular Turkish window frames in the right and left windows were simply set on the sills of the original windows. The height of these windows is important for gaining some notion of the original proportions of the building. Since the sills of the Turkish windows are only .50 m from the floor on the interior (figs. 4, 13), it is clear that the present floor

[12] A. G. Paspates, Βυζαντιναί μελέται τοπογραφικαί καί ιστορικαί (Constantinople, 1877), 320.

[13] The analysis of masonry in fig. 2 is based on the photograph in fig. 1 as well as on a number of other photographs, in black and white and in color, plus notes made on the site.

[14] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 195, fig. 64.

level, as well as the surrounding ground level, is considerably higher than it was originally. One cannot possibly imagine the three great windows of the apse rising from the floor; at a minimum one has to suppose room for seating the clergy beneath them, which would require the floor to be situated about 1.50 m below its present level.[15] Therefore the "heavy" proportions of the building, remarked by Ebersolt, are not the original proportions.[16] The change in ground and floor level is clearly due to the location of the building. The Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii is approximately 5 m above present sea level (which has dropped a meter or two since medieval times) and less than 20 m from the Sea Wall along the Golden Horn.[17] This site is at the bottom of the steep incline of the Blachernes where it would naturally tend to silt up with the passage of time. The restoration of 1.5 m to its height returns the church to its original Byzantine lines (fig. 7).

Above the three tall windows of the center apse one can trace three smaller openings in the original masonry: those to the right and left are unmistakable, while that in the center can be inferred from the pitched bricks of the springings of the arch at either side of the present Turkish window. That these three openings were windows and not decorative niches can be argued from their generous size (*ca.* 1.30 × .70 m) and from their placement. The apex of these windows, allowing for the usual reveals, lies at a point just below the middle of the present Turkish window here, which in the interior would correspond to a point about .20 m below the springing of the apse vault (fig. 13). Had these been intended as decorative niches the architect could have disregarded the height inside and let his niches match those on the north and south apses.

The north and south apses match one another but contrast in design with the center apse. Each of the side apses had three windows at an intermediate level in respect to those in the center apse. The dimensions of these windows seem to have matched the dimensions of the single window retained in each apse; this can be inferred from the contrast between the irregular fill and the continuous courses of masonry below the windowsill level. Above and below the window one can see the arches of smaller openings. The openings above must be interpreted as decorative niches since at this height windows would have intersected the springing of the apse vaults inside (the relation between the existing window and the vault can be seen in fig. 16). The openings below should probably also be interpreted as decorative niches since they match in size the niches above.

Insofar as it can be read beneath the later alterations and repairs, the masonry of the east end of the Atik shows a sequence of bands of brick and stone. Due to the contrast in design between the center and side apses the bands do not always continue from apse to apse. Unfortunately, in Constantinople alternating bands of brick and stone can be found in every period from the fifth to the fourteenth century. The design of the apses, however, gives us a more reliable index of date, for apse design undergoes a fairly regular evolution in Constantinople and examples are numerous, since, whatever its plan, a church had to have an apse. The sequence can be followed century by century from the powerful designs of the single, three-windowed apses of the Chalkoprateia and Studios basilicas in the fifth century to the colorful and delicate sculptural apses of the Paleologan period at the Pammakaristos and Chora.[18] Within this long evolution the design of the apses of the Atik stands closest to that of the Theotokos of Lips of 907 and the Myrelaion of 920–22.[19] With these churches the Atik shares the basic plan of three triple-faceted apses in which surfaces begin to be broken up by windows and niches set at varying levels. At the same time the solidity and integrity of the wall surface is still respected. In its later evolution the facets of the apse are multiplied and every available surface is hollowed out with tier upon tier of niches, as at the Pantokrator or the Gül Camii.[20] On the other hand, certain features of the Atik design belong to an earlier phase in the evolution. In the first place, at the Lips and the Myrelaion, and consistently in all later churches in Constantinople, the three windows of the apse are grouped together as a triple window with only mullions between them. By contrast, the three great windows in the center apse of the Atik are separately cut out of the facets of the apse and have piers of brick between them,

[15] The corresponding dimension at the Lips church is 2 m. Cf. the section by E. Mamboury in T. Macridy, "The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul," *DOP*, 18 (1964), fig. 7.

[16] Ebersolt, *Les églises*, 134.

[17] Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 83, fig. 64, and 302, fig. 344.

[18] T. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul, A Photographic Survey* (University Park, Pa., 1976), *passim*.

[19] C. L. Striker, *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul* (Princeton, 1981), figs. 12 and 37; Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches*, figs. 24.2, 24.4, 35.9–35.11.

[20] Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches*, figs. 10.4–10.6, 10.10, 10.11, 10.31, 10.45, and 13.4, 13.6.

and this design is echoed in the side apses. This separate treatment of the three windows is a feature of early Byzantine architecture in Constantinople, whether one looks at the fifth-century basilicas, the Justinianic churches, or the eighth-century restoration of Hagia Eirene.[21] Secondly, the placement of three windows upon three windows in the center apse is also an Early Byzantine feature. The most conspicuous example is Justinian's Hagia Sophia, but occasional sixth-century examples outside of Constantinople can be cited, as well as one ninth-century example, the Fatih Camii in Tirilye.[22] Thirdly, the absence of horizontal cornices which first appear in the Lips and the Myrelaion, and which tend to tie the three apses together, again links the Atik to the simpler designs of the earlier period. Therefore, the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii, while closely related to the Lips and the Myrelaion, seems to represent an earlier stage in the evolution of apse design. Very likely it belongs to the second half of the ninth century in the new surge of church building known from literary sources to have followed the defeat of Iconoclasm in 842 and the accession of Basil I in 867.

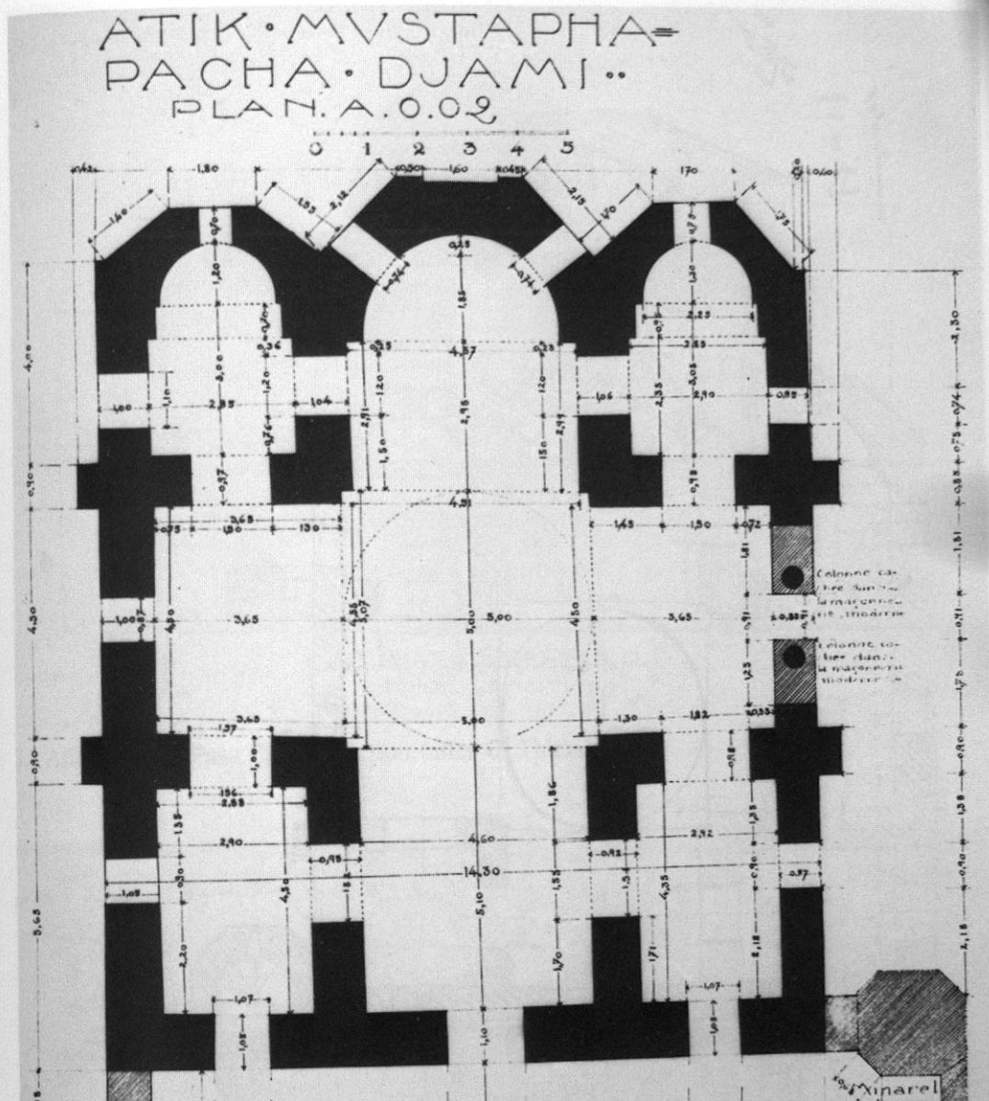
2. *The South Side and the Exterior Flanking Porch*

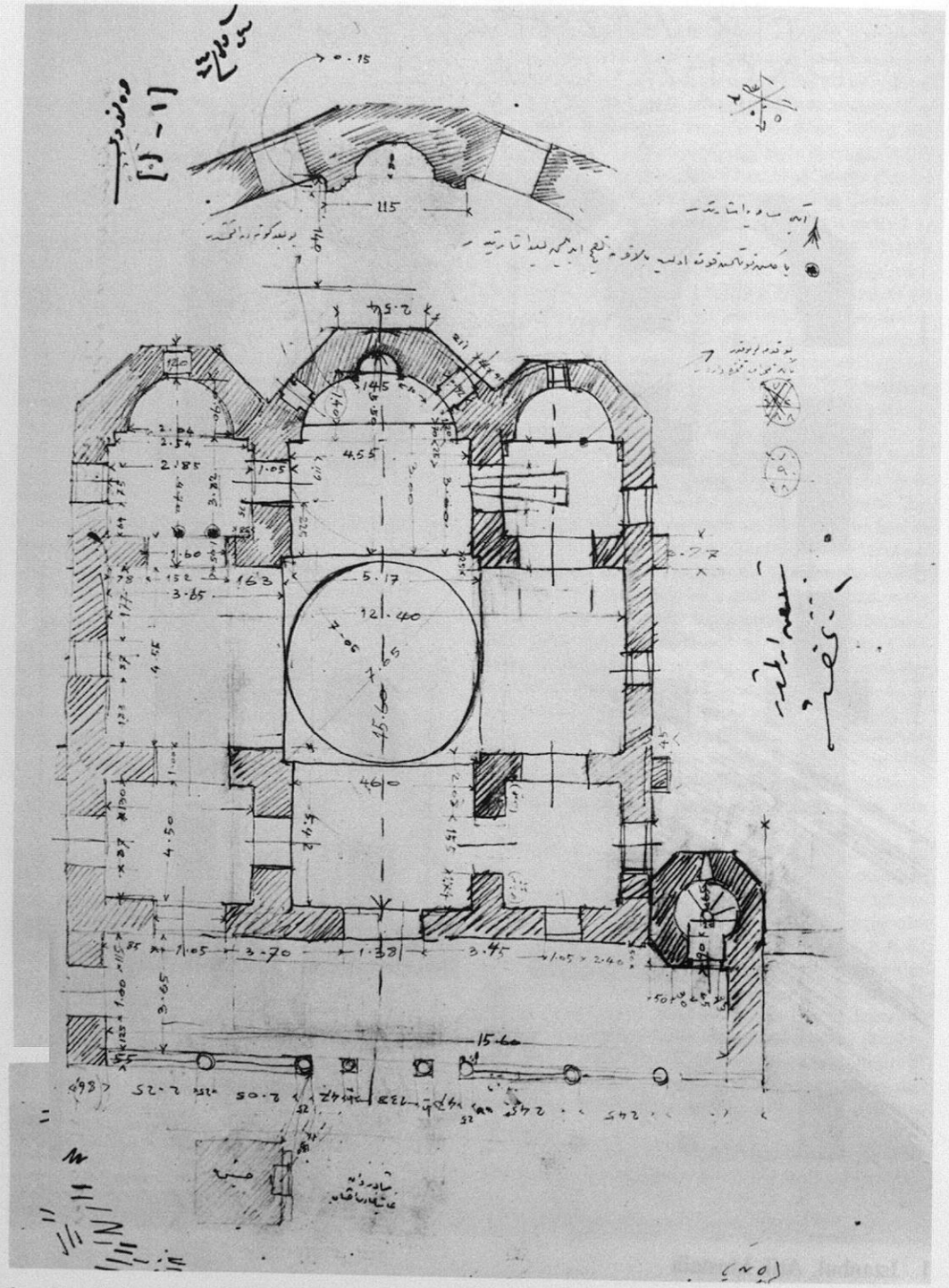
Ebersolt's architect, G. Thiers, observed the south wall of the church early in this century when it was covered with a heavy coat of plaster, on which basis he drafted his elevation (fig. 9). But while the ground plan was meticulously measured (fig. 1), the dimensions of the elevation seem to have been arrived at by rough approximation. Some obvious details that were then visible were omitted and others were introduced without evidence. The measurements provided by the E.E.K.E. section offer guiding lines for reconstructing a new elevation (fig. 4); the falling of exterior plaster since Thiers permits observation of a number of features that escaped him (figs. 8, 10).

The south façade is divided by two buttresses into three unequal bays that diminish from west to east in measurements of 5.51, 4.47, and 3.79 m (Thiers' measurements). To begin with the east bay, Thiers are indicated in his ground plan. Above this window the full round arch of the original opening is now visible, and from its width and its low position in the wall one can assume it was originally a door. As observed above, the floor level was about a meter and a half below the present floor, hence the proportions of the door would have been perfectly normal. The window that Thiers saw above this he drew too narrow—only two panes wide instead of three; it can be seen that the window matched in width the door below. In framing the new Turkish window the original reveals of the previous window were filled in, and, judging from the seam on the right, the original sill was about .30 m lower. About half a meter below this sill level the peeling of plaster now reveals three brick voussoirs of another arch. This seems to mark a narrower window just above the door which was filled in with irregular masonry in Turkish times.

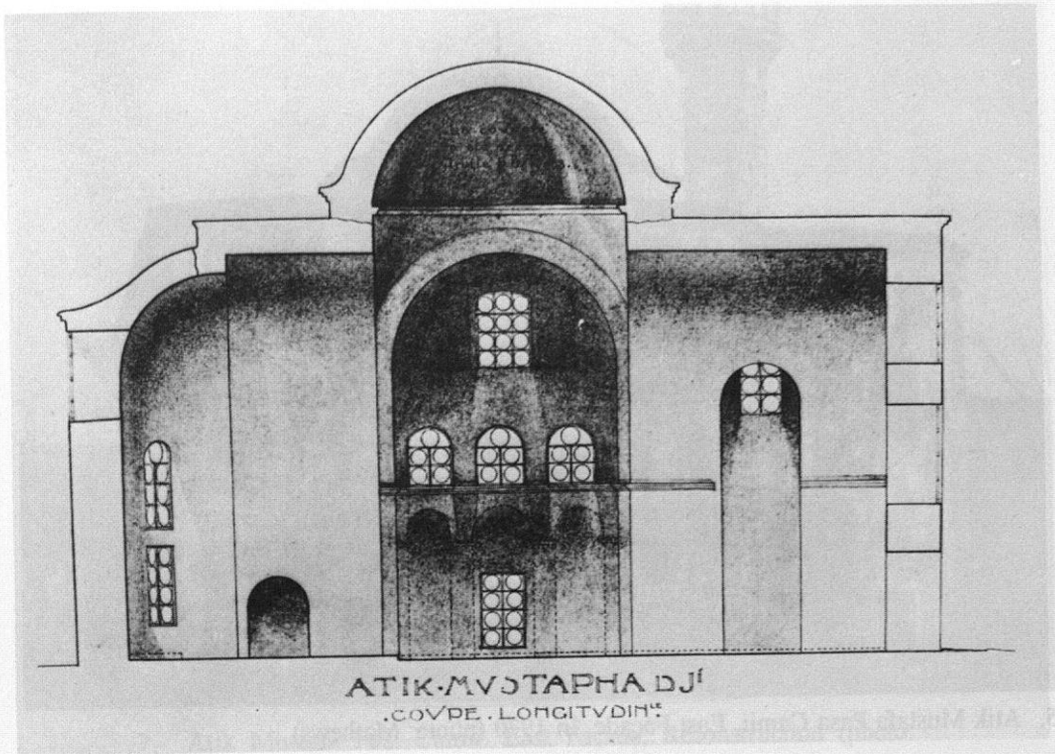
The center bay is more complex, and while Thiers observed the main features he distorted the proportions somewhat. On the ground level, above the rectangular window, the ends of four impost blocks emerge from the surface carrying three arches. From this evidence Thiers (and Traquair as well[23]) inferred the existence of a pair of columns, concealed in the masonry, supporting a triple arcade. It is here that the removal of masonry in 1956 brought the frescoes to light; at the same time the reveals of the arches that frame the frescoes were uncovered (figs. 19–22). Beneath the frescoed lunettes wooden tie-beams span the arches; the arches were probably originally open and the filling is a modification done sometime prior to the painting. The center arch is noticeably larger than the other two.

Above this arcade three more recessed arches appear, still used as windows, their Byzantine brickwork in reasonably good condition. The interior dimensions of these windows and their height from the present floor are given in the E.E.K.E. elevation. Thiers inserted four imposts under the arches, where there is no evidence for them and where structurally they make no sense. Instead

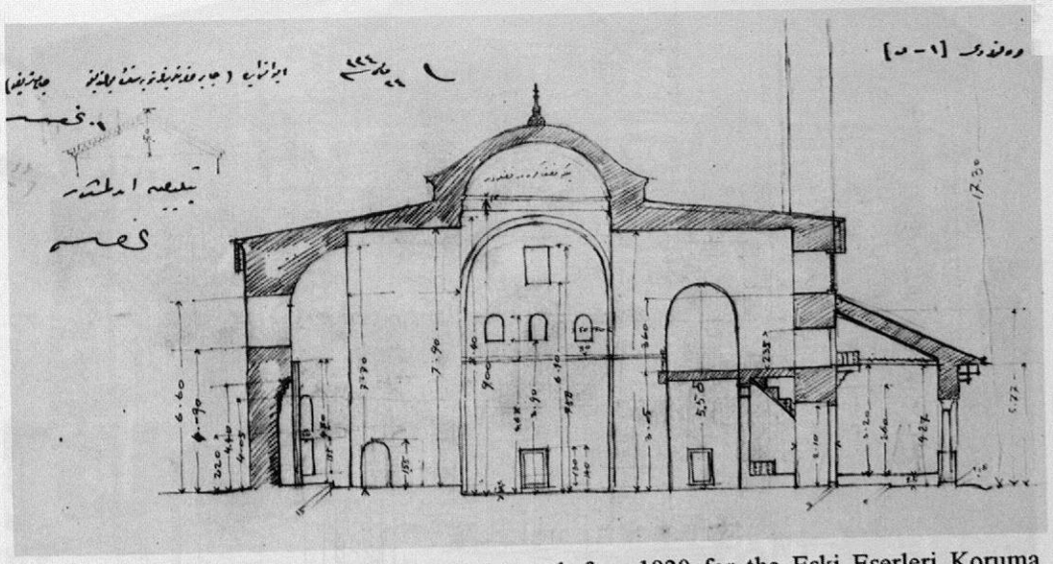




2. Istanbul, Atik Mustafa Pasa Camii, Plan, drawn before 1920 for the Eski Eserleri Koruma Encümeni



3. Atik Mustafa Pasa Camii. Section (after G. Thiers)



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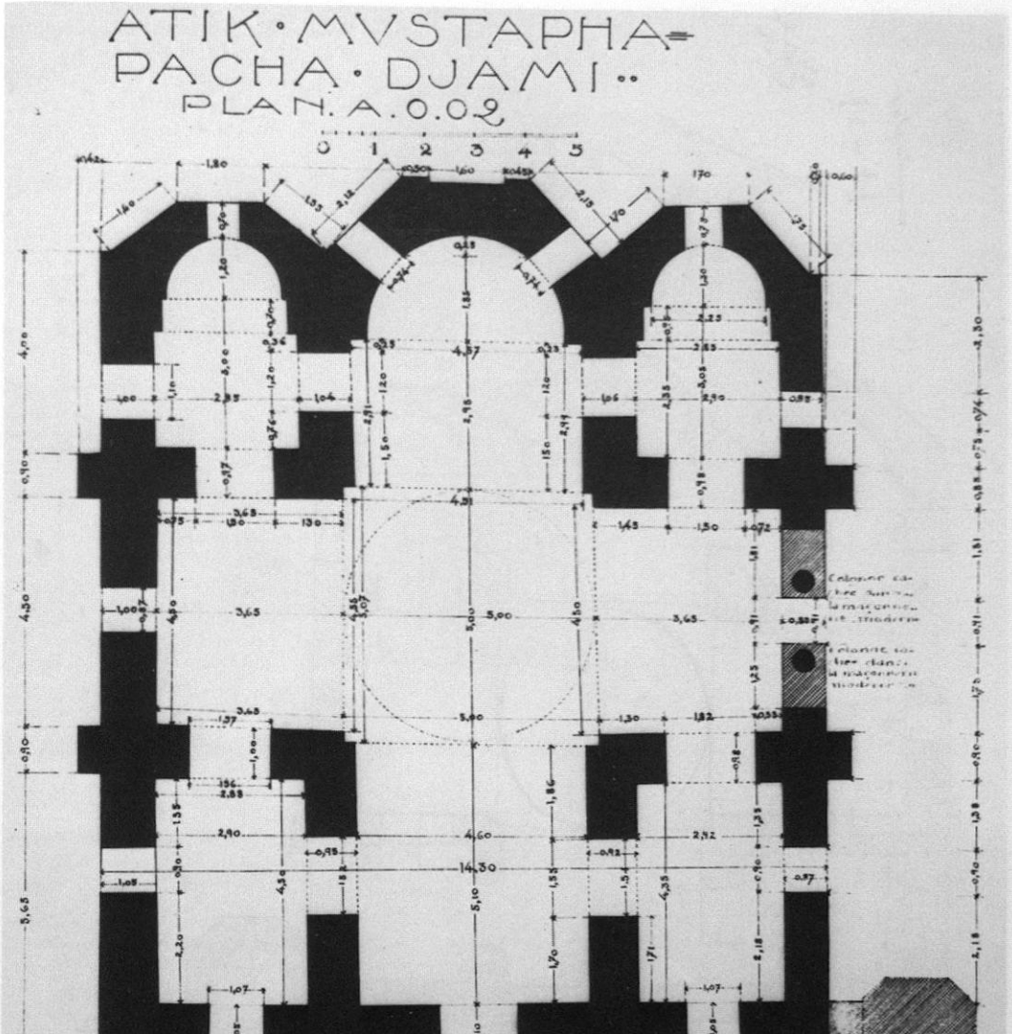

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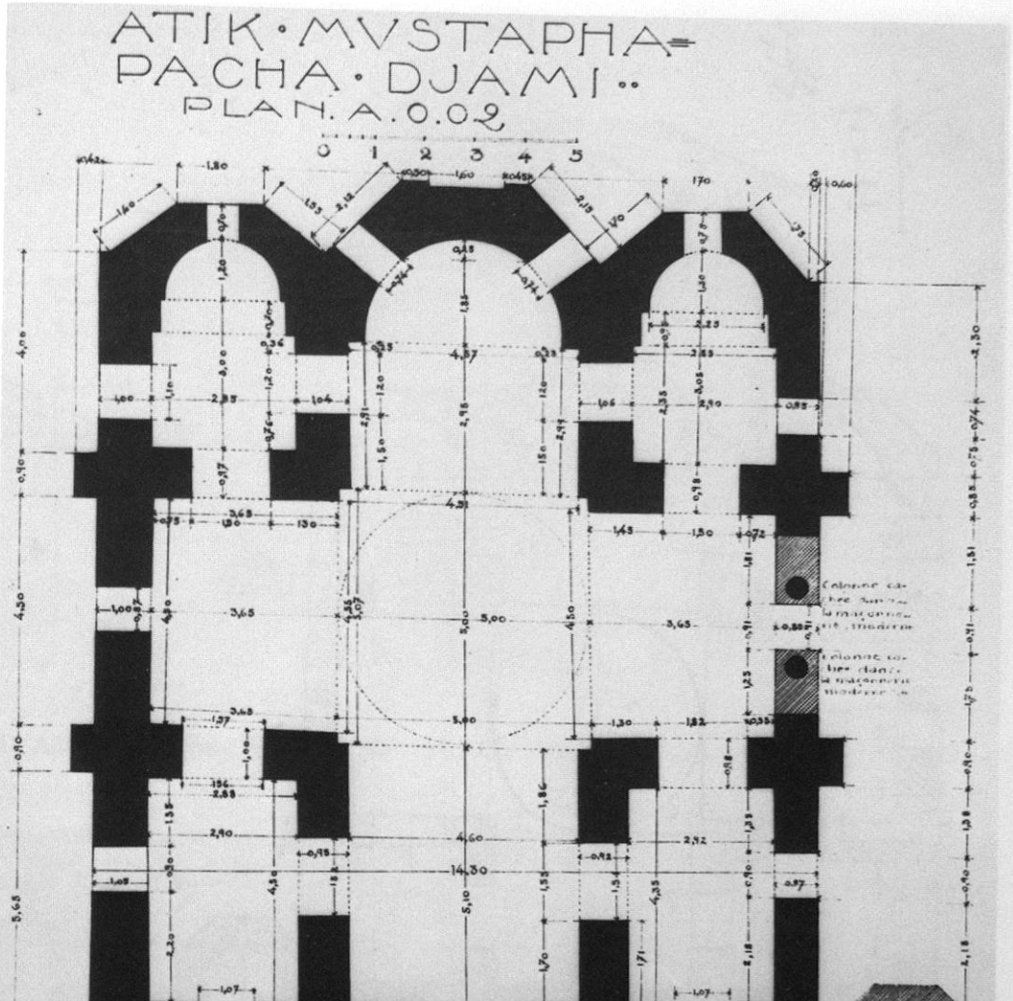

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The center bay is more complex, and while Thiers observed the main features he distorted the proportions somewhat. On the ground level, above the rectangular window, the ends of four impost blocks emerge from the surface carrying three arches. From this evidence Thiers (and Traquair as well[23]) inferred the existence of a pair of columns, concealed in the masonry, supporting a triple arcade. It is here that the removal of masonry in 1956 brought the frescoes to light; at the same time the reveals of the arches that frame the frescoes were uncovered (figs. 19–22). Beneath the frescoed lunettes wooden tie-beams span the arches; the arches were probably originally open and the filling is a modification done sometime prior to the painting. The center arch is noticeably larger than the other two.

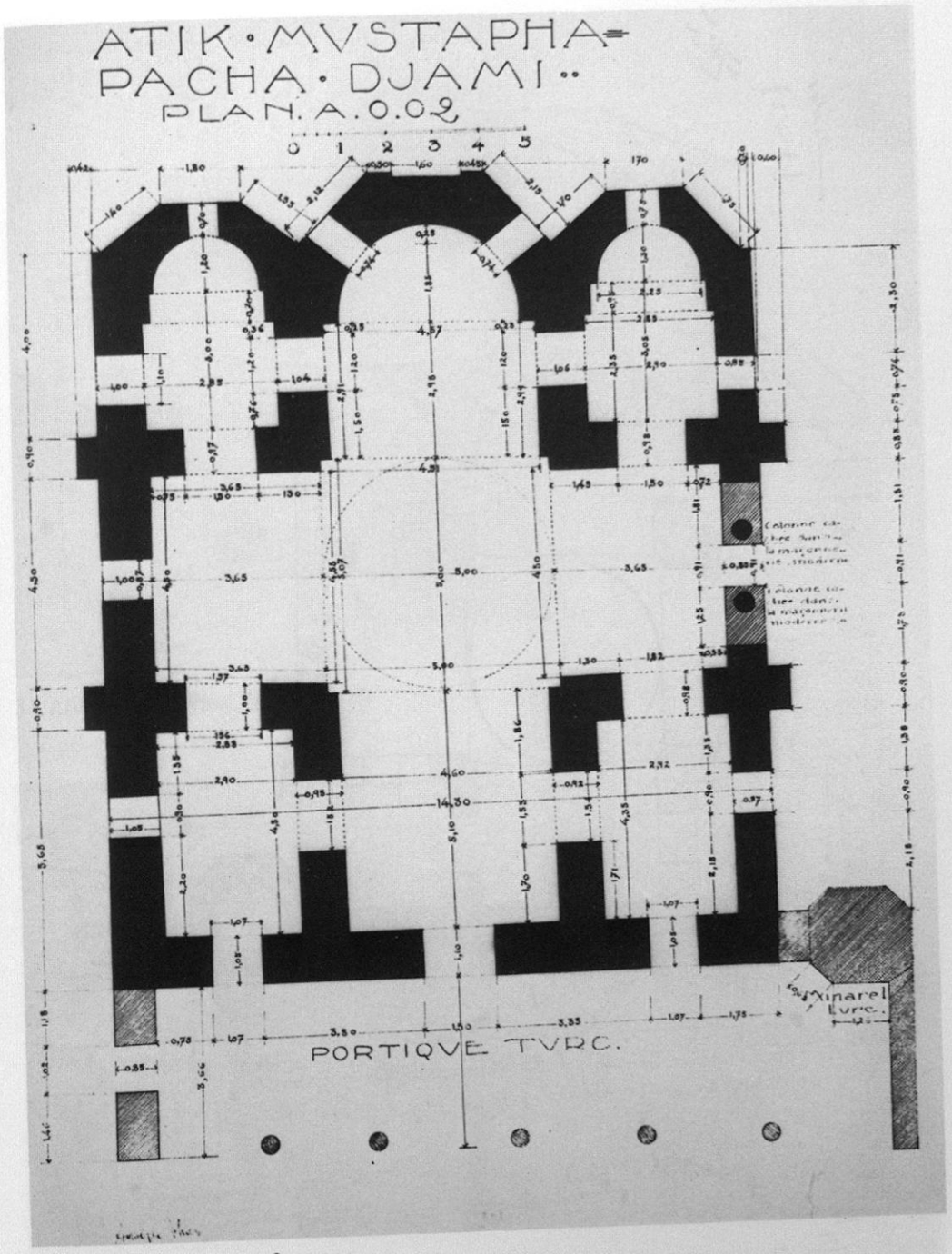
Above this arcade three more recessed arches appear, still used as windows, their Byzantine brickwork in reasonably good condition. The interior dimensions of these windows and their height from the present floor are given in the E.E.K.E. elevation. Thiers inserted four imposts under the arches, where there is no evidence for them and where structurally they make no sense. Instead, there can be observed at this point a slight projection that runs across the center bay a few centimeters below the windowsills. This corresponds to the cornice on the interior, and we will return to it in a moment.

The uppermost zone is spanned by a single arch which is set back slightly from the wall surface be-

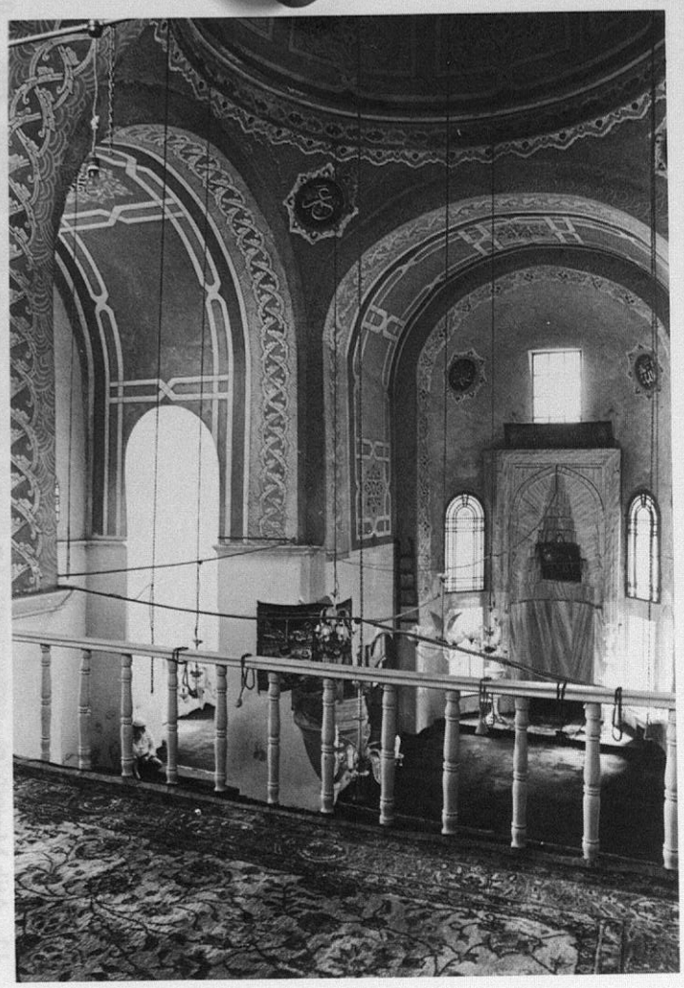
[21] *Ibid.*, 11.7–11.8.

[22] Cf. the churches of Perustica and S. Sophia in Sofia, Bulgaria, and Basilica A in Rusafe, and Qasr-Ibn Wardan in Syria; Krautheimer, *Early Christian*, figs. 86, 215, 112, and 204 respectively. On Tirilye, see C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, "Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara," *DOP*, 27 (1973), 235–38.

[23] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 195, fig. 65.



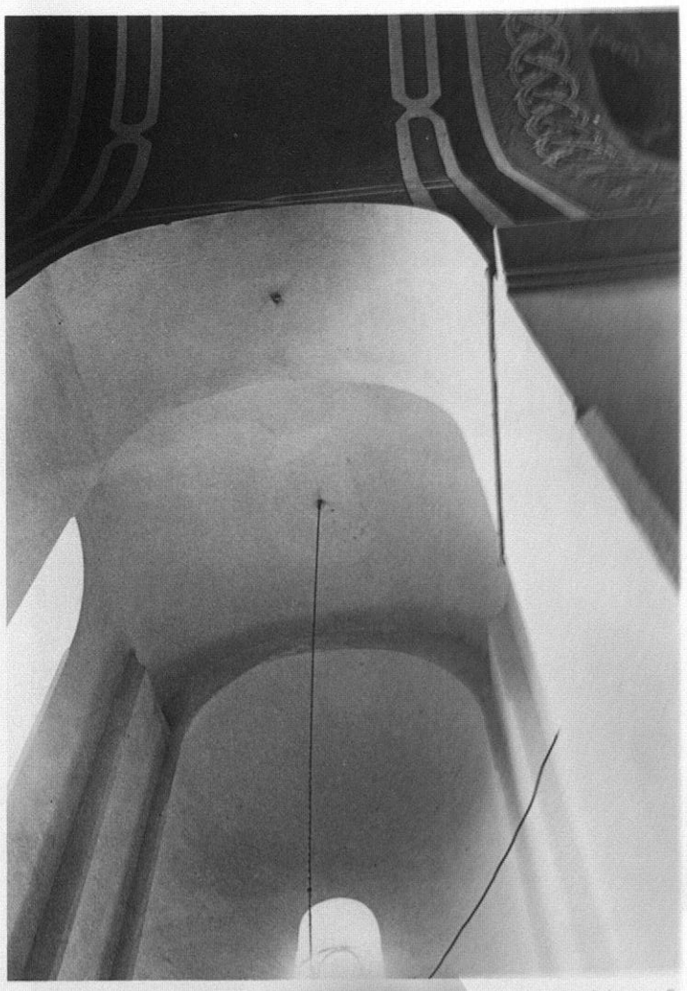
1. Istanbul, Atik Mustafa



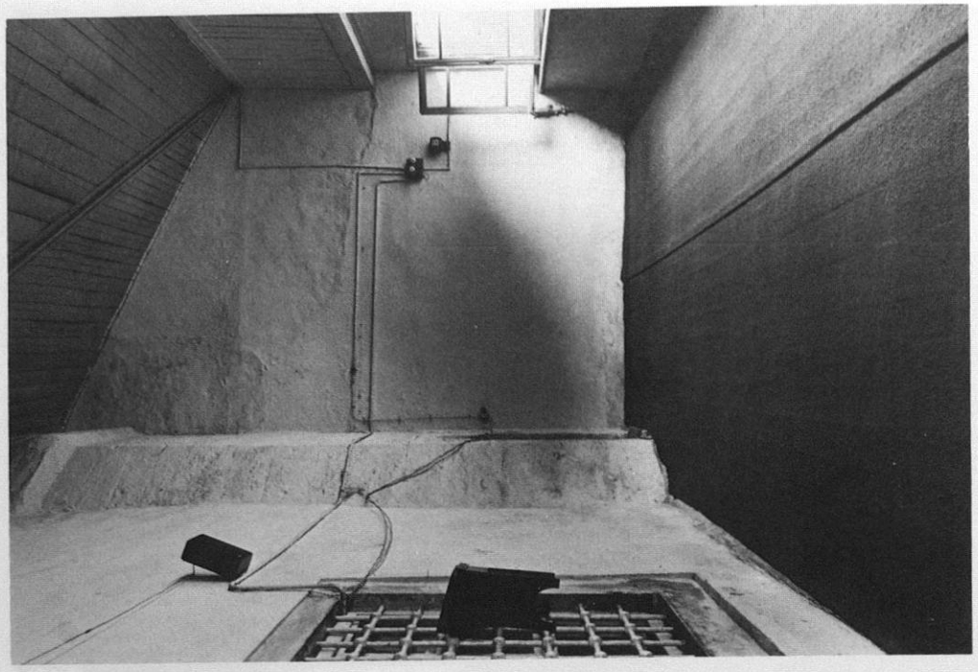
13. Atik Mustafa Pasa Camii, Interior, in 1981, from Turkish Gallery. Towards Northeast (photo: Mathews)

14. Atik Mustafa Pasa Camii, Interior, in 1981, from Turkish Gallery. Towards Southeast (photo: Mathews)

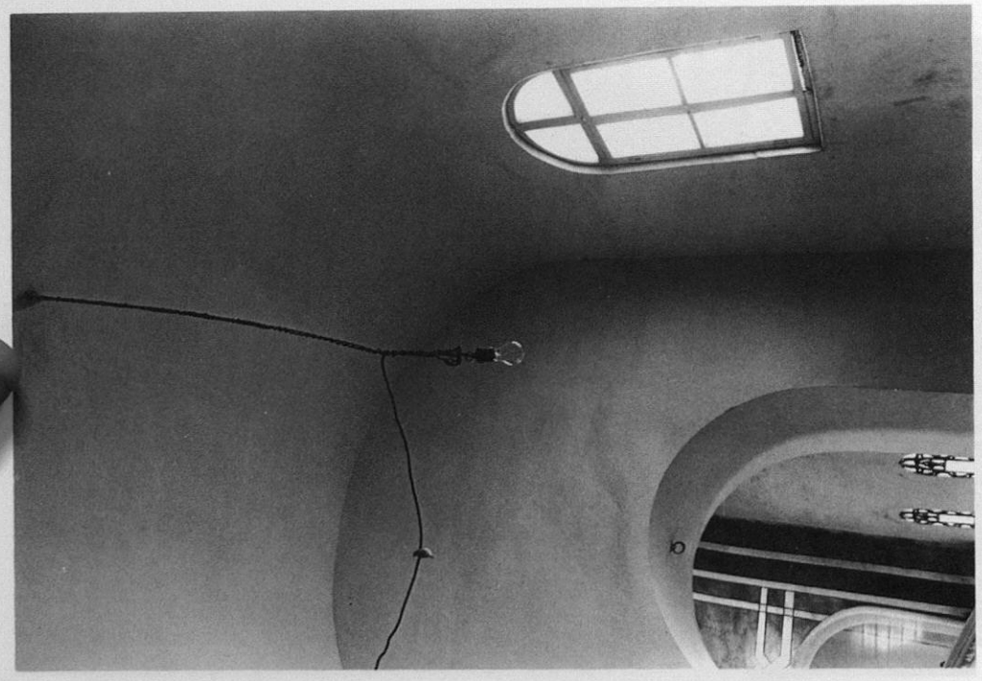
15. Atik Mustafa Pasa Camii, Interior in 1981. Towards Southwest (photo: Mathews)



16. Atik Mustafa Pasa Camii, Interior in 1981. Vaulting of Northeast Corner Bay (photo: Mathews)



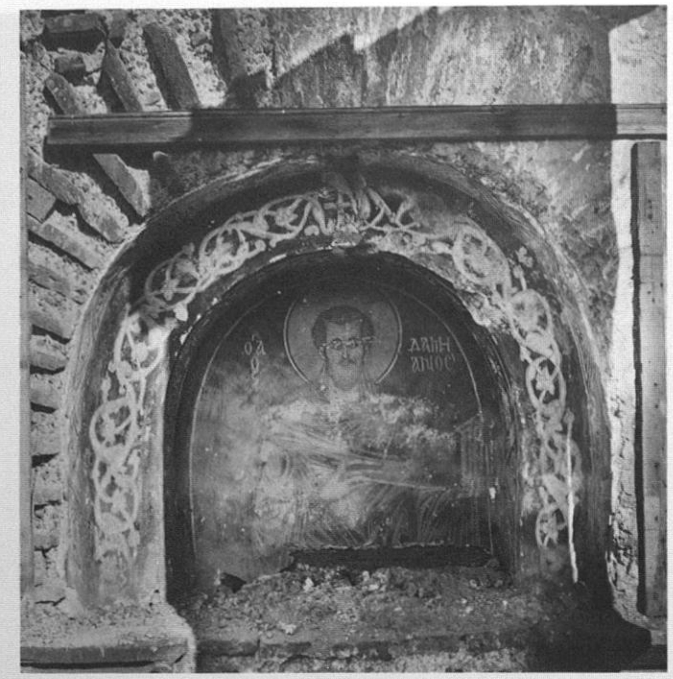
18. Atik Mustafa Pasa Camii, Interior in 1981. Porch, toward South (photo: Mathews)



17. Atik Mustafa Pasa Camii, Interior in 1981. Vaulting of Southwest Corner Bay (photo: Mathews)

19. Atik Mustafa Pasa Camii. Frescoes in Arcade of South Wall. (photo: Byzantine Visual Resources, copyright Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)

20. Atik Mustafa Pasa Camii. The Archangel Michael (photo: Byzantine Visual Resources, copyright Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



21. Atik Mustafa Pasa Camii. St. Damian (photo: Byzantine Visual Resources, copyright Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)

22. Atik Mustafa Pasa Camii. St. Cosmas (photo:Byzantine Visual Resources, copyright Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)

low. The arch is slightly pointed, which Paspates noticed but Thiers ignored;[24] and a recessed arch appears within it. A pair of imposts above the central rectangular Turkish window indicates the original division of the Byzantine tympanum in three by a pair of mullions. There is no evidence, however, for the slender, quadrant-arched windows that Thiers and Traquair reconstructed either side of the main light. The masonry is now exposed on the left half of the window showing no Byzantine masonry inside the recessed arch. Above the arch of the tympanum there projects another arch which descends to unequal shoulders at the top of the buttresses on either side. This is Turkish; when the roofline was regularized it was necessary to bring the surface of the center bay forward to match the end bays.

The westernmost of the three bays is divided vertically in two on an upper and lower level, but the divisions do not match one another. Here much more is visible now than Thiers could observe. On the ground level, above and left of the Turkish window (which Thiers omitted in his elevation though not in his plans, figs. 1, 9) one can see the impost carrying a pair of arches. The impost is a little broader than those in the arcade of the center bay, but it matches them exactly in height. Since the masonry below the impost is Turkish fill, one may assume that the impost was supported on a column rather than a pier. On the upper level the western bay contains a pair of unusual tall, blind arches with slender windows set lower down in them. The apex of the windows matches that of the window in the eastern bay, their height being determined by the springing of the barrel vaults of the corner bays inside (figs. 8, 17). As is clear from the contrast between Turkish fill and the surrounding Byzantine masonry, the sills of these two windows originally matched the sills of the windows in the middle range of the center bay. It is at this level too that the framing of the two blind arches is abruptly discontinued so that the wall surface of the upper storey projects about 10 cm beyond that of the lower. This projection of the upper storey beyond the lower and the change in the rhythm of the arcading of the two storeys must indicate that something came between the storeys on the exterior, and this must have been a roof of some sort intended to shelter the entrances below. The fact that the division between the storeys is picked up in the fenestration of the middle bay seems to indicate that such a porch continued across that bay as well; the projecting lip just below the middle range of windows may be evidence of the porch roof. In the eastern bay the change in window placement indicates that the porch did not continue that far.

The issue of exterior flanking porches has haunted discussions of Byzantine architecture since Brunov's proposal of a "five-aisled" plan for the Lips church as prototype for a common Russian plan.[25] At the Lips, however, A. Megaw's excavation unearthed evidence only for exterior chapels, or parekklesia, flanking the sanctuary end of the church;[26] some evidence for similar parekklesia has been found along the south side of the Pantokrator and the Vefa Kilise Camii,[27] and the parekklesia at the Chora and Pammakaristos are well known. At the Atik, however, there is no evidence for such parekklesia. Here the side porch seems to have given access not to a chapel but only to the western and center bays, connecting them with the narthex. A parallel for this kind of porch has appeared in the recent excavations of the Kalenderhane Camii where to the north and south of the church there were found foundation walls of an outer porch, not terminating in chapels but simply connecting these bays to the narthex.[28] The purpose of such porches from a liturgical point of view and the reasons for their popularity in Russia have not yet been explained.[29]

The masonry of the north side has been reworked much more thoroughly, and much of the evidence has disappeared (fig. 11). In the eastern and center bays there are traces of the same articulation as observed in the north, which seems to indicate that the north side echoed the south in plan. In the western bay, however, one cannot fol-

[24] See note 12 *supra*.

[25] N. Brunov, "Ein Denkmal Hofbaukunst von Konstantinopel," *Belvedere*, 51–52 (1926), 217–36; *idem*, "L'église à croix inscrite à cinq nefs dans l'architecture byzantine," *EO*, 26 (1927), 257–86.

[26] A. H. S. Megaw, "The Original Form of the Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips," *DOP*, 18 (1964), 278–98.

[27] A. H. S. Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *DOP*, 17 (1963), 335–64; H. Hallensleben, "Zu Annexbauten der Kilise camii in Istanbul," *IstMitt*, 15 (1965), 208–17.

[28] C. L. Striker and Y. D. Kuban, "Work at the Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul," *DOP*, 22 (1968), 185–86; *DOP*, 25 (1971), 251–52.

[29] Cf. the Desyatinnya church in Kiev (989–96), St. Sophia in Kiev (1037 ff), St. Sophia in Novgorod (1042–52), Sts. Boris and Gleb in Cernigov (1097–1123), and the Church of the Intercession on the River Nerl (1165); H. Faensen and V. Ivanov, *Early Russian Architecture* (New York, 1975), 11, 329–33, 360–65, 337, and 346–48 respectively.

low a single continuous course of Byzantine masonry.

3. *The Interior*

The interior of the mosque is kept in good repair, plastered and painted, which makes it impossible to observe any of the original surfaces. The southeast corner bay is occupied by the shrine of Hazreti Cabir, and is not open to inspection (fig. 14). The area before his shrine, that is, the south arm of the plan, is separated off with a glass screen. The *mimber* stands alongside this screen. A place for women has been provided behind a grill in the northwest corner bay and in the wooden gallery, which runs the width of the building across the west wall and is reached by a wooden stair in the southwest corner bay (fig. 15). The mihrab was placed on axis in the center of the main apse, which fortuitously faced Mecca (fig. 13). The wooden floor is covered with carpets.

The only decorative element that remains from the Byzantine period is a plain cant moulding that encircles the north, west, and south arms but is not continued in the sanctuary or in the corner bays (figs. 13–15). The upper edge of this cornice is 3.60 m from the present floor, at which height it would have corresponded to the roofline of the side porches (fig. 4). A second cornice would normally be expected at the springing of the barrel vaults, and indeed there is some evidence of this. In the east and west arms there is a slight set-back where the curve of the vaults meets the vertical surface of the walls (figs. 13, 14). A set-back at this point is a common Byzantine building practice, but it generally goes unobserved because it is concealed by a cornice; it is the removal of such a cornice that makes it visible here, in spite of efforts to plaster over the difference. Exactly the same has happened at the Eski Imaret Camii where its upper cornice was removed.[30]

The four corner bays open into the crossarms through great arches of 1.52 m average width, and [illegible] m height (measured from the present floor); [illegible] except for the arches between the main sanctuary [illegible] the east corner bays which are lower. The corner bays are simply barrel vaulted (fig. 17), but the [illegible] in the northeast bay may be a replacement of [illegible] original (fig. 16). Corner pilasters that frame [illegible] apses are terminated abruptly at the springing of the vault where one would expect them to carry across in an arch.

Of the original articulation of the west wall nothing can be observed either inside or out (figs. 15, 12). The irregularity of the western barrel vault (fig. 15) Ebersolt interpreted as evidence of extensive restoration in this part of the church.[31] One assumes that the church communicated with a narthex through three entrances, but their shape is unknown; windows have replaced the right and left entrances. The porch that has replaced the narthex is chiefly of wood, but its southern wall may possibly incorporate the original wall, marking the line of the south flanking porch (fig. 18).

4. *The Frescoes*

On the exterior of the south wall the triple arcade contains frescoes unreported so far (fig. 19). At some unknown date niches were formed by fillings supported upon the original tie-beam which passed through the arcade above the capitals at the springing of the three arches. The niches are stilted lunettes recessed within the inner voussoirs of the original arches; thus space is provided for bands of framing designs — on the face of the inner voussoir and on the two reveals of each arch. A bust of the Archangel Michael occupies the central lunette and busts of the twin brother saints Damian and Cosmas, the Anargyres, the lunettes on his right and left. No trace of fresco survives on the wall face around the niches.

Whatever the original purpose of this area, it seems probable that it was converted at a late period into a parekklesion to house tombs along the interior of the outer wall, which has been totally destroyed, presumably some time since the mid-fifteenth century. It would seem that the fashion for this type of burial in tombs constructed against walls became general by the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries as evinced at Fenari İsa Camii, Fethiye Camii, Kariye Camii, and the undercroft of Bodrum Camii. The small mausoleum of Ahmed Paşa Mescidi, which has burial arcosolia along the walls, dates possibly to the tenth century, and the practice may have originated even earlier.[32] The presence of the Archangel Michael, a

Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches*, figs. 9.12, 9.14, 9.16.

[31] Ebersolt, *Les églises*, 133.

[32] For the arcosolia of Ahmet Paşa Mescidi, see Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches*, figs. 16.9 and 16.14. H. Buchwald dates the Ahmet Paşa Mescidi to the 9th century, "Sardis Church E-H, Preliminary Report," *JÖB*, 26 (1977), 290 and note 95. Other earlier examples are: the tomb of the founder of Panagia Chalkeon in Thessaloniki (1028), D. E. Evangelides, Ἡ Παναγία τῶν Χαλκέων (Thessaloniki, 1954), 18–19; the tomb excavated in his Enkleistra cave by St. Neophytos (*ca.* 1160), C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings," *DOP*, 20 (1966), 119–206. One can also add the following three examples, for although none is specifically described as a wall tomb, the presence of portraits makes it highly likely that these were of the type that is now familiar to us: portraits of St. Theodore Studite and his brother Joseph adorned the tomb they shared in the Studios monastery (844), according to C. Mango; Caesar Alexios Monsele, son-in-law of the Emperor Theophilus, was buried in his own monastery on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus (840–50) where his tomb and inscribed portrait above the tomb were recorded in the middle of the 10th century in Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn ed., 109; the tomb which the Patrician Melias set up for himself in his own lifetime (mid-11th century), in which he was represented both as layman and as monk, *Die Gedichte der Christophoros Mitylenaios*, ed. E. Kurta (Leipzig, 1903), 9–10, no. 16.

psychopomp, conveyor of souls, and the epithet accompanying his name supports the hypothesis that this area was converted for use as a mausoleum. Under present circumstances it is not possible to determine whether the spaces in the lower part of the arcade were walled up to make a separate compartment—a parekklesion—when the conversion was made.

The lunettes are framed by a red border with an inner white line. The backgrounds are black, which may originally have had a thin glaze of white inducing an illusion of blue, an economical technique employed when true blue pigments were an expensive luxury. The haloes are yellow ochre with a white circumference line and an inner line of black. The inscriptions are in white.

The lunette with Michael has survived almost intact apart from a complete loss of the plaster across the face of the tie-beam at the base, except at the left side (fig. 20). There is some superficial damage to the surface, particularly on the left side of the face and hair, resulting in the destruction of the right eye. This was probably caused by the filling of the niche and was not deliberate vandalism.

The inscription ὁ Ἀ[ϱ]χ[αγγελο]ς Μηχαὴλ ὁ φήλαξ (sic) [The Archangel Michael, the guardian] has the first two groups of letters written horizontally on each side of the halo, and the epithet vertically downward between the halo and the left wing.

The florid representation is typical of the manner in which the Archangels were portrayed in the Late Byzantine period. A white band around the head binds the hair. Its ends wave in the halo on either side. The hair is golden brown arranged in small curls across the forehead and on the top and falling down each side of the neck. The face is placid. The exposed right forearm is ill drawn, with the back of the hand shown clasping the handle of the sword, which is held almost vertically.

The point of the sword and also the top of the halo break the white outline and red border of the lunette, suggesting projection from the plane surface of the fresco. This device is employed in all three niches.

Michael wears a fanciful cuirass composed of small yellow rectangular plates of scale armor, doubtless intended to represent gold. There is a silver cross on the breast decorated with intertwining foliate forms with a rounded gold motif at the center; these are painted with black and white, and yellow shaded by red to suggest the metals.

The frilled edges of a white undergarment appear at the neck and elbows. A red mantle, decorated with a sprinkling of rosettes composed of white dots, hangs over the shoulders and down the right side. On the other side the mantle is knotted below the shoulder and conveniently conceals the lower part of his left arm. The feathers of the wings are warm umber or red. The bends of the wings point upward with the secondary underfeathers spreading outward on each side, and the primaries point directly down.

The bust of Damian in the lunette to the west has survived with the plaster almost intact (fig. 21). The tie-beam along the base, however, is exposed, except at the left corner. Small areas of superficial damage occur mostly across the shoulders; these were probably caused by the post-Byzantine filling of the niche. The only apparently deliberate mutilation to the painting are a few light scratches across the eyes.

The saint is identified by the inscription: ὁ Ἅγιος is compacted into a diamond-shaped group on the left, and Δαμιανὸς is in two horizontal lines on the right. He is clad in a voluminous red mantle piled high behind his neck and draped from the right shoulder over his left arm. A tunic beneath this mantle is exposed only over the right wrist and at the throat where the cuff and collar are yellow decorated with white dots on brown lines.

The head is schematically designed. The features are small and give the face a rather fastidious appearance. The light brown hair is combed forward in strands to make three convex masses so that the hairline recedes in sharp points above the temples. Damian looks directly forward with a benign expression appropriate to the epithet of the physicians, the Anargyres, who gave their services

free. In his right hand is the long, thin shaft of a surgical instrument with an angular, pointed blade. The blade may be identified as a τυφλάγκιστρον (a blunt retractor, literally, "blind hook"), an instrument designed not only to cut but to retract the edges of the incision, and the long wooden handle may be identified as the δορύδιον τυφλαγκιστροῦ ("small spear").[33] The saint's fingers are disproportionately long and hold this shaft in a somewhat affected manner with the first fingers pointing toward a tall light brown and yellow ochre rectangular container held vertically in the palm of the left hand. The hand as well as the top of this object break the white outline of the background, which is also just overlapped by the top of the halo. The tall container is identified as a πυργισκάριον (a tower-shaped box), a container for instruments or medicines. These boxes were of wood or earthenware and, from their form and color, the latter material seems the more probable for those depicted here.

The bust of St. Cosmas in the niche to the east has all the central features of the face destroyed and both hands damaged (fig. 22). Otherwise, the lunette survived in fairly good condition except for an area of plaster along the base, where the wood tie-beam is exposed, but to a lesser extent than in the other two niches.

The inscription ὁ Ἅγιος Κοσμᾶς is arranged on each side of the halo in a pattern similar to that of Damian. The saint faces directly forward and the movement of the arms is directed toward the central, dominating bust of the Archangel. His hair and beard of light brown are painted as strands combed down to form a convex fringe across the forehead. A rather full rounded beard covers his throat. The symbols of his profession, displayed by Cosmas, are similar to those held by Damian. In his left hand he holds a *pyrgiskarion* vertically in front of his chest, and in his right the shaft of the *typhlangistron* in a fanciful manner, with the thumb, [illegible] and third fingers extended, breaking into the [illegible]der.

[illegible]smas wears a light blue-grey mantle draped [illegible] his chest and shoulders and drawn around his [illegible] to hang down the right side of his body where [illegible] symmetrical folds form a diamond shape at the [illegible]. Beneath this, an ample, wide-sleeved red [illegible]nent with a sprinkling of triple spotted motifs [illegible]hite covers the forearms. The cuffs are richly embroidered with a rinceaux design in yellow bordered on each side by a row of pearl-like white dots on a darker edging. A collar of similar design appears at each side of the neck. The light blue underside of this garment is visible in a small triangular area below each forearm. The close fitting cuffs of a tunic are seen on the wrists.

The framing designs in the reveals and voussoirs are of two types. All have red borders. One type has a zigzag layout forming triangular areas, which are filled with irregular foliate forms reduced to abstract motifs of two-dimensional red and black patterns on the natural white ground of the lime rendering, reminiscent of twelfth-century decoration. This zigzag type of design is found on both the inner reveal of the central lunette and the outer reveals of each side lunette. The other framing designs are of a foliate rinceaux type on black ground. At the apex of each of the voussoirs is a cross from which the stems of the foliage originate. The sigla for Jesus Christ, $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$, were inscribed above the crossarms, but that above Damian is lost.

The foliage of the rinceaux around the Archangel is lime white shaded with yellow, no doubt intended to impart a golden tinge. The design is contained by white lines within the red borders. The cross rises upward and from its base the foliage grows down on each side. The curvilinear forms are more richly decorated than those surrounding the saints which do not have white lines along the borders. The foliage around the saints is more angular and less elaborate. The shading is achieved with brush strokes of pale red. Unfortunately, the photographs from which it has been necessary to work afford only a partial and oblique view of the foliate designs on the outer reveal of the central niche and on the inner reveals of the niches on each side. The asymmetrical nature of the designs makes it impossible to produce even schematic drawings of them. What can be seen, however, is sufficient to show that the characteristics are similar and complementary to those on the voussoir of each niche.

It is evident that the designer commenced with the crosses and improvised the growing foliate forms as he proceeded down each side. There was no attempt at symmetry—all follow rhythmic patterns very freely interpreted. The workmanship is precise, the details of the figures and of the designs on the voussoirs are well executed, but, while the heads are carefully painted, the draughtsmanship of the Archangel's right arm is atrocious and his left arm is discreetly concealed from view. This

We are indebted to Dr. Dimitrios Karakantzas and to Charbos Bakirtzis for the information about the surgical instruments and containers.

is the work of a craftsman-designer rather than of someone who might be thought of as a creative artist-painter.

The frescoes clearly belong to the last period of Byzantine art in Constantinople and should be placed in the first half of the fifteenth century. The letter forms are comparable to those in the inscription of 1438 inside the Silivri gate, that of 1441 near the "Tower of Anemos," and that of 1447–48 of George, despot of Serbia (now in the Archeological Museum at Istanbul).[34] Our stylistic dating can, therefore, be supported by the epigraphy. The frescoes of the Atik must constitute the last well-preserved monumental Byzantine painting to have survived in the city with the exception of the fragments of tomb painting in the outer narthex of the Chora (Kariye Camii),[35] which are, however, in an entirely different style.[36]

5. *The Original Dedication*

The archeological evidence surviving in the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii gives us some basis for reconstructing the original shape of the Byzantine church and for dating it in the ninth century. It remains to ask what the same evidence tells us about the original dedication. Four different identifications have been suggested for the monument. Van Millingen cautiously accepted the identification proposed in the nineteenth century by the Patriarch Constantius as the church of Sts. Peter and Mark in the Blachernes.[37] According to the *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, the patricians Galbius and Candidus used this church as a shrine for the tunic of the Blessed Virgin in 458, before the relic was installed in the Theotokos of Blachernes.[38] While the archeological evidence will in no way sustain a fifth-century date, this does not in itself preclude the dedication to Sts. Peter and Mark. Foundation stories often allege an exaggerated antiquity for a church, for the edification of the faithful; it is also quite possible for an early building to be entirely replaced without its dedication changing. The most one can conclude is that when the *Synaxarium* was compiled in the eleventh century there was a church of Sts. Peter and Mark in the Blachernes district that was believed to be a fifth-century foundation. Whether that church was the Atik is unclear.

While accepting this dedication, Van Millingen also proposed a later rededication as St. Anastasia in Blachernes.[39] Unfortunately, this is the most nebulous of all possible identifications, for the one possible reference in a chrysobull of 1342, Janin points out, mentions not a church but a gate, either of St. Anastasia or of the Anastasis.[40]

A dedication to St. Thekla, espoused by S. Eyice, contradicts the archeological evidence.[41] Theophanes Continuatus narrates that Thekla, eldest daughter of Emperor Theophilus (829–42), built a new bedchamber within the Blachernes Palace, and within the bedchamber she erected the chapel of her namesaint: καὶ Θέκλα δὲ ἡ τούτου πρώτη θυγάτηρ τὸ κατὰ τὰς Βλαχέρνας κουβούκλειον, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ τῆς πρωτομάρτυρος Θέκλης εὐκτήριον ἵδρυται ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ἤγαγεν εὐμορφότατον· ἐκείσε δὲ καὶ τὸν βίον οὖσα κλινοπετὴς ἐξέλιπεν. (In addition Thekla, his eldest daughter, erected completely new a bedchamber within the Blachernes [palace], in which is dedicated the oratory of the protomartyr Thekla, of exceeding beauty; here in fact bedridden, she departed this life.)[42] While the ninth-century date of St. Thekla would agree with

[34] B. Meyer-Plath and A. M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, pt. 2 (Berlin, 1943), 128, 140. We are indebted to Professor Cyril Mango for this information.

[35] P. A. Underwood, "Paleologan Narrative Style and an Italianate Fresco of the Fifteenth Century in the Kariye Camii," *Studies in the History of Art Dedicated to William E. Suida* (London, 1959), 1–9.

[36] I have undertaken to write about these frescoes, being the only interested person to have had the opportunity to see them twice. On both occasions, however, it was possible to view them only briefly. In the summer of 1956, having been informed, on the eve of what proved to be a destructive civil disturbance, that frescoes had recently been exposed by workmen in the course of maintenance work on the building, I collected timber and worked with my assistant Şaban Kolat throughout the afternoon in a deluge of rain to improvise shuttering to cover that part of the wall containing the paintings. It has remained covered ever since, except for one occasion, the following summer, when the protective covering was opened for just sufficient time to take black-and-white photos for the Byzantine Institute of America; I also took color slides for myself. It is these photos that are published here, and from them and my color slides this description has been compiled. For several years it was hoped that the recording and conserving of the frescoes would be arranged, and that provision would be made to preserve them in situ by means of a simple shelter along the wall, or that they would be removed for presentation elsewhere. Unfortunately, nothing was done, and although the shuttering is still intact the frescoes have been smeared with paint (a fate shared by the mosaics in the narthex of the Vefa Kilise Camii). E.H.

[37] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 191–92; Constantius, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople*, trans. J. P. Brown (London, 1868), 83. Cf. R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin. La siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. Les églises et les monastères*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1969), 402.

[38] H. Delehaye, *Synaxarium CP*, entry 2 July, 793–94.

[39] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 192.

[40] Janin, *Géographie*, 22.

[41] S. Eyice, *Istanbul, Petit guide à travers les monuments byzantins et turcs* (Istanbul, 1955), 66.

[42] Theophanes Continuatus, III, chap. 44, Bonn ed., 174–78. Cf. Janin, *Géographie*, 141.

our evidence at the Atik, the topography does not. It would not be possible to extend the Blachernes Palace to include the Atik without thereby cutting off the public's access to the very popular church of Theotokos of Blachernes, which was one hundred meters to the west.[43] Furthermore, the chapel mentioned by Theophanes Continuatus is clearly an appendage to the private chamber of the princess, while the Atik is self-sufficient and out of scale with what one might expect of a bedroom oratory.

Most recently B. Aran has proposed identifying the Atik with a church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian which Russian travelers located somewhere between the Blachernes and the church of St. Theodosia.[44] Aran appeals to the frescoes of Sts. Cosmas and Damian in support of this identification, but again the literary sources do not fit the archeological evidence. According to its typicon, the monastery had lain in ruins from the time of the Latin Conquest until the Empress Theodora rebuilt it in 1425–48.[45] But no Paleologan construction is evident at the Atik, and Sts. Cosmas and Damian (*and* St. Michael) were of course extremely popular.

Given the elasticity of our map of the districts of medieval Constantinople, still another dedication should be considered, namely, the church of St.Elijah in Petrion. As rebuilt by Basil I, its date would fit the Atik nicely. The *Vita Basilii* tells us: τὸν δὲ Ἠλιοῦ τοῦ προφήτου κατὰ τὸ Πετρίον ναὸν ὥσπερ λειποψυχοῦντα ἀνέρρωσε καὶ περιφανῶς ἐκτίσατο, ἐλευθερώσας καὶ τῆς περιστοιχούσης καὶ πιεζούσης τῶν κοινῶν οἰκιῶν συνοχῆς. (As for the church of the prophet Elijah at the Petrion, which was, so to speak expiring, he nursed it back to health and rebuilt it splendidly, having furthermore freed it from the constriction of surrounding houses.)[46] At the close of the twelfth century the church was remarked upon by an English pilgrim: *In loco Antiochi in via Blachernes est ecclesia sancti Helie prophete et est in ipsa de melote eius.* (In the neighborhood of Antiochus, on Blachernes street, there is the church of Saint Elijah the prophet, and in it is part of his mantle.)[47] There are two notable uncertainties in this limited data. In the *Vita Basilii* it is impossible to judge whether Basil's repairs really replaced the earlier church or rather were of a merely cosmetic nature. Secondly, it is not possible to say whether the Petrion district, which lay along the Golden Horn, reached as far north as the Atik; this "Antiochou" neighborhood is distinct from the "Antiochou" neighborhood by the Hippodrome, but it is not otherwise specified in the sources.[48]

[43] Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 302, fig. 344.

[44] Aran, "The Nunnery of the Anargyres," 247–53; B. de Khitrowo (trans.), *Itinéraires russes en Orient* (Geneva, 1889), 233.

[45] H. Delehaye, "Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues," *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, Classe de lettres, ser. 2, 13 (1921), 137, chap. 56, repr. *Synaxaires byzantins, ménologes, typica* (London, 1977), VI, 137, chap. 56.

[46] Theophanes Continuatus, V, 82, Bonn ed., 325; trans. C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), 194.

[47] S. G. Mercati, "Santuari e reliquie costantinopolitane secondo il codice Ottoboniano latino 169, prima della conquista latina (1204)," *RendPontAcc*, 12 (1936), 153.

[48] According to the *Synaxarium* there was a church of St. Elisha in the Antiochou neighborhood; *Synaxarium CP*, entry 28 November, 264. On the two Antiochou neighborhoods, cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine. Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1964), 310–11.

VI

Observations on the Church of Panagia Kamariotissa on Heybeliada (Chalke), Istanbul

IN April of 1971 and again in July of the same year permission was granted me by the commanding officer of the Turkish Naval Academy on Heybeliada to visit and photograph the Byzantine church known as Panagia Kamariotissa, which is located within the military precinct there.[1] The restricted nature of the site has, in recent times, left this monument virtually inaccessible to archaeologists, and this situation is not likely to change in the near future. It is unfortunate, too, that when the monument was accessible, that is, prior to World War II, archaeologists paid very little attention to it. A cursory and very poorly documented report by the Russians Nikolaj Brunov and Hermann Židkov constituted the entire archaeological bibliography on the church down to the present.[2] Hence, the building has been in a sense twice removed from the scholar, since he could neither visit it at first hand nor even study it in photographs. For this reason it seemed worthwhile to attempt a photographic documentation of the church as complete as possible, inside and out, in the hope of restoring the monument to some extent to its proper place in the study of the architecture of Constantinople. The monument is of more than peripheral interest.

Even though it is located some thirty-odd kilometers south of the city, Panagia Kamariotissa deserves to be counted a Constantinopolitan church. Like modern Istanbul, the ancient city was not confined by the fortified walls of Theodosius II, but spilled over into the surrounding country, populating the shores of the Golden Horn, the Bosphorus, and the Marmara with a variety of villas, resorts, and suburban communities whose life was always part of the life of the city itself. The problem of the Kamariotissa, then, is one of situating the monument in the evolution of the architecture of Constantinople and examining what new information it adds to that central and most influential development. The evidence of the new photographic documentation requires some revision of opinions formerly accepted.

Earlier authors in their descriptions of Constantinople have universally assigned the Kamariotissa to the very last phase of Byzantine architecture. The more common opinion attributed its building to the penultimate Emperor John VII Palaeologus (1425–1448),[3] but Janin, citing a seal of the monastery

[1] I would like to express my gratitude to Alb. Fuat Başol and Yrb. Muammer Güvenç for the hospitality and consideration with which I was received on the base. I would also like to thank Miss Mary Davis of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation and Major David E. Fanning, U. S. M. C., Assistant U. S. Naval Attaché, for facilitating my clearance through the Turkish General Staff in Ankara. Finally, I am happy to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Samuel H. Kress Foundation for their financial support of my work in the photographic documentation of the churches of Istanbul.

[2] N. Brunov, "Die Panagia-Kirche auf der Insel Chalki in der Umgebung von Konstantinopel," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 6 (1927–1928), 509–20; H. Židkov, "Über ein Freskenfragment in der Panaghia-Kirche auf der Insel Chalki," *ibid.*, 521–28. Semavi Eyice's book on the Palaeologan architecture of Constantinople also includes a brief archaeological report on the Kamariotissa, but there is no evidence that he visited the church himself: *Son Devir Bizans Mimârisi. Istanbul'da Palaiologos'lar Devri Anıtları* (Istanbul, 1963), 44–46.

[3] This dating rests on an inscription of John VIII Palaeologus, now missing, which is discussed below. B. Koutloumousianos, Ὑπόμνημα ἱστορικὸν περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Χάλκην μονῆς τῆς Θεοτόκου (Con-

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with the date 1372, moved the attribution back to John V Palaeologus (1341–1391), which was the date accepted by Brunov and later by Orlandos and Eyice.[4] Apart from this unresolved issue of the exact date, however, architectural historians were of one mind with Brunov in associating the tetraconch design of the church with that of Panagia Mougliotissa in Constantinople, also tetraconch, which is thought to belong to the end of the thirteenth century. Taking the two together, Brunov imagined a kind of last, and implicitly decadent, Palaeologan Renaissance, that is, a return in the last years of the Empire to building types of Early Christian precedent in quatrefoil plans. The two churches were thus summarily dismissed as a final repetitious coda at the end of the architectural history of the capital.

Credit for finally correcting the dating of the building belongs to Aristeides Pasadaios who, in an article that appeared during the preparation of this study, observed that the recessed brick masonry required a date in the eleventh or twelfth century.[5] The photographs submitted here confirm this important observation. Pasadaios' article also provides a useful new survey of the post-Conquest history of the monastery, which continued in use down to its conversion in 1831 into a Greek school and in 1875 into a School of Commerce. On the other hand, it is not clear to what extent Pasadaios' archaeological analysis of the Kamariotissa is based on actual first-hand observation of the monument. The photographs, published at too small a scale to be useful, are not contemporary, and the original design of the building has been incorrectly observed.

The most salient facts of the more recent history of the site can be briefly summarized.[6] In 1672 a disastrous fire swept the monastery destroying all but the church of Panagia; and the first Christian to hold the post of Grand Dragoman at the Sublime Porte, one Panayotaki, was responsible for the subsequent rebuilding, which was commemorated with an inscription at the entrance to the monastery.[7] Pasadaios hypothesizes, quite reasonably, that the devastation of the fire included the katholikon of the monastery to which the surviving Kamariotissa was only a subsidiary; this would allow for the tradition that the monastery was originally dedicated to St. John the Baptist,

stantinople, 1846); Konstantios IV, patriarch of Constantinople, *Constantiniade*, French trans. M. R. (Constantinople, 1846), 201–6; S. Byzantios, Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις (Athens, 1863), II, 303–4; G. Schlumberger, *Les îles des Princes* (Paris, 1884), 102–24; S. Bettini, "Un inedito mosaico del periodo paleologo a Costantinopoli," *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini*, II (=*Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, 6) (Rome, 1940), 31–36; R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Baltimore, 1965), 294; Semavi Eyice, "Les églises byzantines d'Istanbul," *Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina*, 12 (1965), 316–17.

[4] R. Janin, "Les îles des Princes: étude historique et topographique," *Echos d'Orient*, 23 (1924), 326–38; A. K. Orlandos, Τὸ καθολικὸν τῆς παρὰ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην Μονῆς Περιστερῶν, in Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 6 (1951), 161; S. Eyice, *Istanbul: petit guide à travers les monuments byzantins et turcs* (Istanbul, 1955), 116–17; *idem*, *Son Devir Bizans Mimârisi*, 44.

[5] A. Pasadaios, Ἡ ἐν Χάλκῃ Μονὴ Παναγίας Καμαριωτίσσης, in Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρεία (1971), 1–55.

supposing a shift in title after the destruction of the church bearing his name.[8] A century later, in 1796, a new complete repair of the monastery and [illegible] was undertaken by Alexander Ypsilanti, hospodar of Walachia. The [illegible] was partly repainted and a bell tower added; and the following year the [illegible] neighboring church to the north, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, [illegible] erected. After the turbulent period of the Greek Revolution the monastery was converted in 1831 into a Greek school; the school buildings were used as a Greek orphanage after World War I and are now quarters for the Turkish Naval Academy. A final repair of the monastery is recorded in 1875 by the banker M. Zaphiropoulo, and an earthquake, which brought down many of the frescoes, is recorded in 1894.

Of the earlier, pre-Conquest history of the church only a single firm historical document remains and its interpretation poses a problem. Dr. John Covel, a seventeenth-century English traveler, recorded the inscription of a plaque which, he said, was located on the north wall of the church. The inscription, which has disappeared, very simply commemorated the Emperor John Palaeologus, with the date September 1447.[9] Contrary to the assumption made by earlier authors, this cannot refer to the erection of the church, as our present evidence makes clear. In fact, it would be most unlikely for the founder of a church to commemorate his generosity so very modestly.

Since the documentary sources for the Kamariotissa are so very slight, our knowledge of the monument is limited for the most part to what can be learned from a careful inspection of the fabric of the building itself. In this examination my new photographic documentation can be supplemented by older photographs taken by the Turkish Commission for the Preservation of Monuments in 1942, when the monastery became government property.[10] Along with the photographs, reference should be made to the plan (see fig. A), which has been adopted with corrections from those of Pasadaios and Brunov, with the understanding, however, that we still lack an authoritative architectural survey of the building.

Panagia Kamariotissa is not a very imposing structure. The interior of the church proper measures barely 6 m. in width by 9.50 m. in length, dimensions that scale it to the class of Constantinople's smaller churches, St. John in Troullo, the Mougliotissa, or the parekklesion of Pammakaristos. The building stands free in the middle of the great quadrangle of the Naval Academy with Ypsilanti's chapel of St. John the Baptist a few meters to the north and a water tower a few meters east (fig. 1). The church is now unused, empty,

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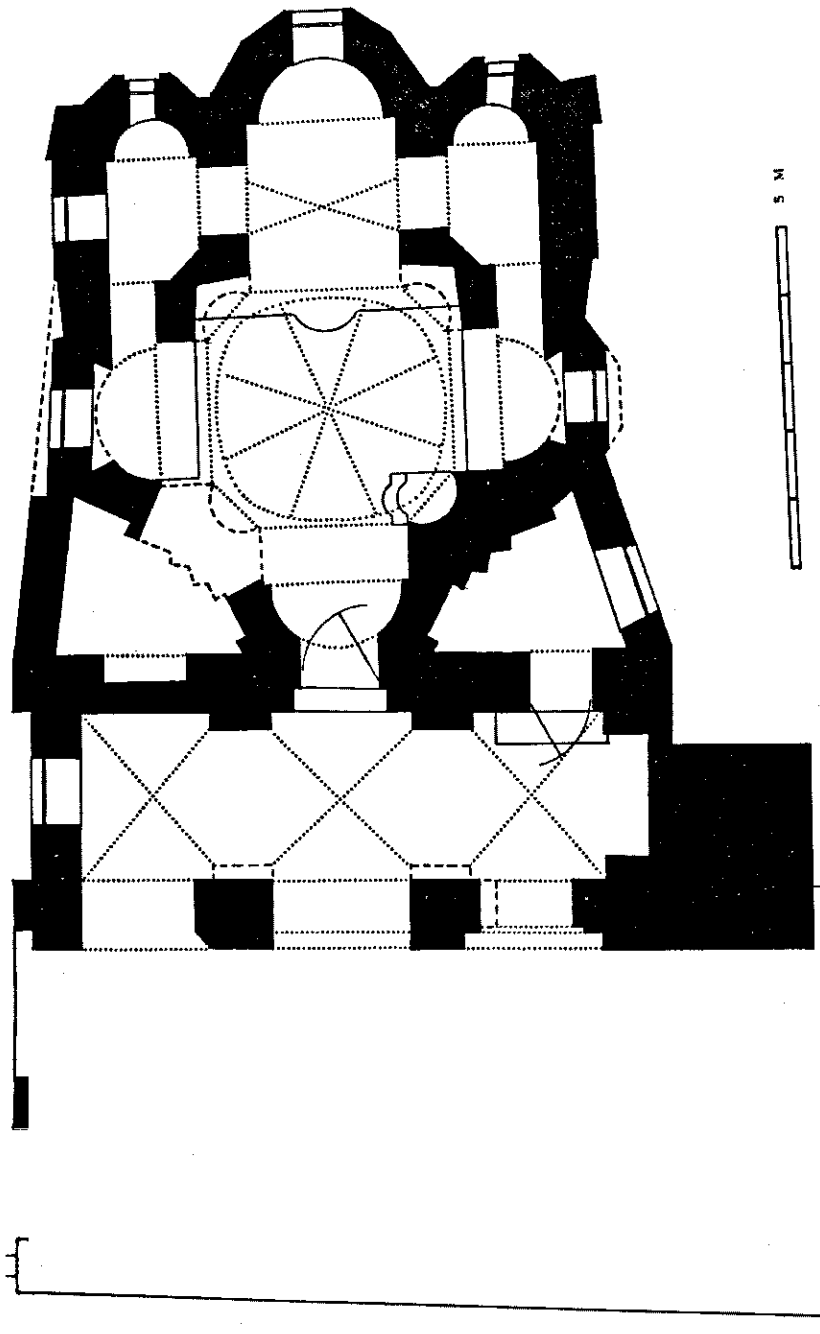
[10] [illegible] archive is kept in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.



A. Heybeliada, Ground Plan of Panagia Kamariotissa. Walls cut away at ground level are indicated with dashes.
(Drawing: David Mathews)

generally clean, and thoroughly whitewashed. Having never been used as a mosque, nor for any secular purpose, the irregularities and mutilations of the building must be attributed to its continuous use as a church by the Greek Orthodox community.

Viewed from the west, an octagonal cupola rises from an octagonal base over the narthex, whose façade opens with three unequal arched entrances. To the right of the façade is the base of the little belfry erected in 1796. The irregularity of the narthex entrances and the unnecessary height of the narthex roofing (concealing an attic one to two m. high) must be accounted for by the outer narthex that used to stand here, as seen in earlier photographs (fig. 2). The outline of its plan is still visible in the pavement that steps up about four meters to the west of the existing narthex. The outer narthex, which was destroyed shortly after 1942, was a timber-roofed hall divided in two to provide a women's room or gynaikeion at the south end. Inside, the north wall of the outer narthex was decorated with an Akathistos cycle; other frescoes decorated the east wall, including a Dormition over the central entrance to the inner narthex (fig. 3). This fresco was rudely cut in half by the enlargement of the entrance which, judging from the appearance of an iron boss in the intrados, seems to have been made when the fabric of the building was reinforced with iron stays, probably after the earthquake of 1894. The addition of this outer narthex and its fresco decoration is attributed by Koutloumousianos to the restoration of Panayotaki in 1672; this dating is borne out both by the presence of burials in the exonarthex pavement starting in 1707 and by the style and epigraphy of the frescoes.[10a]

The inner narthex is covered with a triple groin vault (fig. 4). The southern end opened through a broad low arch with a little window above it—still visible inside but closed by the belfry on the outside. The north wall of the narthex may have echoed this originally, though a single round-headed window is found there now (fig. 5). The arch at the south end of the narthex still retains the wooden frame, which formerly housed the church's most important icon, the Theotokos Kamariotissa.[11] The narthex presents a major problem in its dating and consequently in establishing the original shape of the church; for, although Brunov saw it as an addition to what was originally a simple, narthexless plan, Pasadaios is of the opinion that it belonged to the original plan.[12] New evidence can be found in inspecting the rest of the church.

Viewed from the south, the church reveals something of its history (fig. 6). In the center the southern apse of the quatrefoil plan has been cut back mercilessly in modern times for the insertion of a plain rectangular window. This revision, like other window revisions, should probably be dated to the last

[10a] Koutloumousianos, Ὑπόμνημα ἱστορικόν, 25. For a listing of the burials at the Kamariotissa, see Pasadaios, in Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 7 note 3. I am very grateful to Professor Cyril Mango for observations on the style and epigraphy of these frescoes.

[11] It is not known what became of the icon. The Theotokos icon in the narthex of Aya Triada on Heybeliada, which is said to have come from the Kamariotissa, does not match the Encümen photograph of the icon *in situ* in 1942.

[12] Pasadaios, *op. cit.*, 29–39; Brunov, *op. cit.*, 510.

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[6] Cf. Koutloumousianos, *op. cit.*, for a more complete account, or Janin, *op. cit.*, for a convenient summary.

[7] The inscription was recorded in Dr. John Covel's Journal, British Museum Add. MS. 22.914, fol. 21 (=p. 39), and has been published by Konstantios, *op. cit.*, 202, as well as elsewhere.

supposing a shift in title after the destruction of the church bearing his name.[8] A century later, in 1796, a new complete repair of the monastery and church was undertaken by Alexander Ypsilanti, hospodar of Walachia. The church was partly repainted and a bell tower added; and the following year the tiny neighboring church to the north, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, was erected. After the turbulent period of the Greek Revolution the monastery was converted in 1831 into a Greek school; the school buildings were used as a Greek orphanage after World War I and are now quarters for the Turkish Naval Academy. A final repair of the monastery is recorded in 1875 by the banker M. Zaphiropoulo, and an earthquake, which brought down many of the frescoes, is recorded in 1894.

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[10] Eski Eserleri Koruma Encümeni, whose archive is kept in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. I am most grateful to Bekir Şükrü Eğeli, Secretary of the Encümen, and to Necati Dolunay, Director of the Museum, for making this material available to me. I am also indebted to Dr. Nezih Fıratlı, who first alerted me to the existence of this valuable collection.

north side (fig. 16) originally had three slender windows divided by a pair of thin piers. The exterior wall surface above the windows is decorated with a row of squat recessed niches, flat and concave. To the left of the apse a wall of very irregularly-laid small stones encloses a low chamber in the corner between the narthex and the quatrefoil. The continuation of the row of decorative niches above the roof of this chamber (fig. 7) indicates that the chamber is later and that the quatrefoil originally stood clear of encumbrances here. The pitched roof of the narthex ends abruptly at a level far above this corner chamber—an irregularity which will find its explanation in an examination of the corresponding corner chamber on the north. To the right of the apse one sees a blocked window placed high in the diaconicon; the blocking of the window is evident from the inside both here and in the corresponding prothesis on the north (fig. 19). These side windows lighted the sanctuary as well as the pastophoria, for windows at the same level open from the pastophoria into the sanctuary within, a rather unusual feature (fig. 14). Above the window on the outside an iron clamp is visible reinforcing the structure, further evidence of the consolidation of the structure after 1894.

The best evidence for dating the first and principal building phase of the church is to be found at the east end, where the peeling of plaster on the three apses has revealed masonry that was still hidden when Brunov inspected the church (figs. 8 and 9). The exceptionally high mortar beds tell us that we are dealing with recessed brick masonry, that is, every second course of brick is set back from the face of the wall and hidden in the mortar. As a Constantinopolitan masonry technique, recessed brickwork flourished from the end of the tenth to the middle of the twelfth century, the earliest instance being its use in the Tithe church at Kiev which was erected by masons from Constantinople between 990 and 996.[13]

The articulation of the apses on the south and east (the north apse has been walled over) may give us even a better indication of date. On the south side of the church a series of recessed niches, both concave and flat, was observed, forming a decorative zone running above the window zone (figs. 6 and 7). The same decoration evidently continued around the sanctuary apse of the east end. Though these niches have since been filled in—probably at the time when the fabric was girded with an iron band after 1894—the peeling plaster clearly reveals their outlines (fig. 10). Decorative niches over windows occur throughout Middle Byzantine architecture, but the shape of the niches undergoes a gradual evolution from the squat, almost semicircular niches of Pantepoptes to the taller niches of Pantokrator, which in turn foretell the later development of the steep and elegant narrow niches of Palaeologan monuments.[14]

[13] On Kiev, see M. K. Karger, *Drevnij Kiev*, II (Moscow-Leningrad, 1961), 49, 91 ff. For a listing of other dated examples of recessed brick masonry, see C. Mango, "The Date of the Narthex Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 13 (1959), 249–50.

[14] Cf. Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, pls. 142, 144, and 139.

dated to the late eleventh century.

The Panagia on Heybeliada, therefore, must take its proper place in Middle Byzantine architecture and its usual classification in the last phase of Byzantine architecture has to be abandoned. The unusual plan of the building, moreover, makes it an important monument within the Middle Byzantine development. An examination of the northwest corner chamber between the church proper and the narthex clarifies the original design. Here, looking up through a recently fallen plaster ceiling, one can observe to the south a series of recessed niches articulating what was originally the exterior wall surface of the quatrefoil core of the building (fig. 11). These match in number and sequence the niches already noticed in the corresponding position on the south side of the church. To the west (right and center in fig. 12) one can see—in a coarser, conglomerate masonry—two piers and a window between them belonging to the east wall of the narthex's north bay. This window stands over the door (now blocked) from the north bay into the corner chamber; the springing of the arch over the window is still in evidence. The fact that the narthex is later in date than the church is clearly indicated by the difference in masonry, but it is also apparent from the way in which the narthex addition covered the original exterior niches of the church in this corner. For, in the angle where the narthex meets the wall of the church, the beginning of an irregular domical vault is still in place, indicating that when the narthex was added to the church this corner bay was enclosed and vaulted over, forming a little chamber. Unfortunately the exact shape of this chamber is not clear because the present exterior wall to the north is not in bond with the narthex wall and must be a more recent construction, like the corresponding irregular wall of the chamber on the south (fig. 6). But it is clear that when the narthex was added a pair of chambers, very likely matching in plan, were also added in the corners between the narthex and the original quatrefoil core.

These little corner chambers, vaulted over above the level of the earlier exterior niches, would have been of the same height as the chambers flanking the sanctuary at the east and would have been lighted from the west with windows that opened above the vaulting of the narthex—an arrangement which the steep pitch of the present narthex roof has concealed. Whatever their purpose, whether built as burial chapels or for private devotion, these corner chambers were entered from the narthex only and did not communicate with the nave of the church. At present, the entrance from the narthex to the north chamber is walled up, but the entrance to that on the south still exists.

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general overhaul of the building after the earthquake of 1894. From the inside it is clear that both the south apse and the corresponding apse on the north side (fig. 16) originally had three slender windows divided by a pair of thin piers. The exterior wall surface above the windows is decorated with a row of squat recessed niches, flat and concave. To the left of the apse a wall of very irregularly-laid small stones encloses a low chamber in the corner between the narthex and the quatrefoil. The continuation of the row of decorative niches above the roof of this chamber (fig. 7) indicates that the chamber is later and that the quatrefoil originally stood clear of encumbrances here. The pitched roof of the narthex ends abruptly at a level far above this corner chamber—an irregularity which will find its explanation in an examination of the corresponding corner chamber on the north. To the right of the apse one sees a blocked window placed high in the diaconicon; the blocking of the window is evident from the inside both here and in the corresponding prothesis on the north (fig. 19). These side windows lighted the sanctuary as well as the pastophoria, for windows at the same level open from the pastophoria into the sanctuary within, a rather unusual feature (fig. 14). Above the window on the outside an iron clamp is visible reinforcing the structure, further evidence of the consolidation of the structure after 1894.

The best evidence for dating the first and principal building phase of the church is to be found at the east end, where the peeling of plaster on the three apses has revealed masonry that was still hidden when Brunov inspected the church (figs. 8 and 9). The exceptionally high mortar beds tell us that we are dealing with recessed brick masonry, that is, every second course of brick is set back from the face of the wall and hidden in the mortar. As a Constantinopolitan masonry technique, recessed brickwork flourished from the end of the tenth to the middle of the twelfth century, the earliest instance being its use in the Tithe church at Kiev which was erected by masons from Constantinople between 990 and 996.[13]

The articulation of the apses on the south and east (the north apse has been walled over) may give us even a better indication of date. On the south side of the church a series of recessed niches, both concave and flat, was observed, forming a decorative zone running above the window zone (figs. 6 and 7). The same decoration evidently continued around the sanctuary apse of the east end. Though these niches have since been filled in—probably at the time when the fabric was girded with an iron band after 1894—the peeling plaster clearly reveals their outlines (fig. 10). Decorative niches over windows occur throughout Middle Byzantine architecture, but the shape of the niches undergoes a gradual evolution from the squat, almost semicircular niches of Pantepoptes to the taller niches of Pantokrator, which in turn foretell the later development of the steep and elegant narrow niches of Palaeologan monuments.[14]

[13] On Kiev, see M. K. Karger, *Drevnij Kiev*, II (Moscow-Leningrad, 1961), 49, 91ff. For a listing of

Within the picture of this gradual evolution, the decoration of the Kamariotissa fits closest with that of Pantepoptes and, therefore, should probably be dated to the late eleventh century.

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[13] On Kiev, see M. K. Karger, *Drevnij Kiev*, II (Moscow-Leningrad, 1961), 49, 91 ff. For a listing of other dated examples of recessed brick masonry, see C. Mango, "The Date of the Narthex Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 13 (1959), 249–50.

[14] Cf. Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, pls. 142, 144, and 139.

[illegible]

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the building. The addition of narthexes to several of Constantinople's other churches establishes a very definite trend in Palaeologan architecture. The church of Constantine Lips, the Chora, the Pammakaristos, the Vefa Kilise Camii, and very likely also Panagia Mougliotissa, all received new narthexes in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Like the outside, the interior of the church has also been severely mutilated. In addition to the substitution of stone-framed square windows in place of the original delicate arcading on slender colonnettes (figs. 13, 14, and 16), the walls have been chopped back from their original lines in many places. The design of the church called for short barrel-vaulted arms converging at the center on a domed unit, which was expanded to octagonal shape by niches placed on the diagonals between the arms. Contrary to Brunov's and Pasadaios' plans, these niches are shallower than a semicircle. The eastern niches, those flanking the sanctuary arm, were cut back to square corners at the ground level to receive an iconostasis (figs. 13, 15).[15] On the other hand the northwest niche has been hacked open on the ground level with a wide irregular arch to take advantage of the space in the little north corner chamber (fig. 16); if we are correct in assigning all the iron stays and bosses in the church to the post-earthquake restoration at the end of the nineteenth century, this carving away of the northwest niche also belongs to that restoration. The southwest niche has two low steps indicating the position of the throne in modern Orthodox usage. The entrances to the pastophoria, both from the sanctuary and from the north and south crossarms, have also been cut away, widened, and their vertical lines destroyed (figs. 14 and 15).

The sanctuary is higher than the body of the church; a low step runs straight across, projecting slightly in the center for the "ambo" of modern Orthodox usage. The north and south arms of the quatrefoil are also raised a step above the body of the church, though earlier plans omit these differences in levels (or show other, non-existent steps). The original level of the church, however, may be somewhat lower than the present paving.

Frescoes are still visible in several places beneath the whitewash. Traces of the Angel of the Annunciation can be made out in the northeast niche of the crossing, with the Virgin completing the composition in the southeast niche (fig. 13). The Nativity of Christ is recognizable in the south apse, while St. Anne's Conception and the Birth of the Virgin have been left practically uncovered in the southwest niche (fig. 17). The Birth of the Virgin, in a clumsy and desiccated style, shows a curious corruption of the iconography of that scene in which the care rendered to the mother has developed into a banquet scene, while the newborn Virgin Mary lies unattended and unnoticed beneath the table. These, and other frescoes visible in the Encümen photographs of 1942 (fig. 15), seem to belong to the same seventeenth-century decorative

[15] The iconostasis is now at the theological school at Aya Triada on Heybeliada, but the sections have been rearranged, and it was not clear from a cursory examination which of the icons were still in their original frames. The carving should be attributed to Ypsilanti's restoration at the end of the eighteenth century.

program as the frescoes of the outer narthex, but the peeling of plaster in places makes it evident that much earlier layers of fresco still exist below this decoration. In 1928 Židkov published the head of a young male saint of the Palaeologan period which was visible in the sanctuary at that time.[16] The possibility that other frescoes of the same period, and even earlier ones, may still exist at the Kamariotissa presents a most tantalizing prospect for any future investigator of the monument. It is not inconceivable that parts of the original eleventh-century decoration lie still concealed beneath the more recent layers.

Apart from the introduction of iron stays and bosses, the vaulting of the church is in surprisingly good condition (fig. 18). The arms of the quatrefoil carry short barrel vaults ending in apse vaults, except for the deeper eastern (sanctuary) arm, which has a little groin vault (fig. 14). The cupola is scalloped in an eight-part melon shape, which at its springing is distorted from a true circle to a circle flattened somewhat on four sides. The northeast window of the drum has been blocked up, and the very crown of the dome shows an irregular patch of repair.[17] The pastophoria are barrel-vaulted, and the falling of plaster in the diaconicon has revealed the masonry there (figs. 19 and 20).

The vaulting, more than any other feature in the church, emphasizes the unique position of Panagia Kamariotissa in the history of Middle Byzantine architecture, for it places the church squarely in the center of the development of the most innovative plan of the eleventh century, the plan that Millet called the "church with corner squinches" and Krautheimer the "Greek-cross octagon."[18] The essence of this plan consists in the expansion of the central domed crossing unit beyond the diameter of the arms of the cross plan. This expansion is achieved by placing niches, whether semicircular or right-angled, at the corners of the central square, the niches finishing above in squinches. The crowning vault, then, that rings the central space just under the rim of the drum, takes on a very distinctive shape as its continuous curve is cut back by the eight unequal arches—four larger arches over the cross arms and four smaller ones over the niches. This is the basic common denominator of the brilliant series of Middle Byzantine designs at Daphni, Chios, Stiris, and Athens, as well as their later descendants at Arta, Mistra, Monemvasia, and elsewhere.

The church on Heybeliada is by no means a very elegant addition to this series. It is an inexpensively-built church with no marble revetments, it is very small, and the dome is rather irregular.[19] The importance of the Kamario-

[16] Židkov, *op. cit.*, 521–28. A better photograph of this fragment can be found in the typescript set of volumes by W. Sender et al., *Byzantina: Important Antiquities of Constantinople*, trans. V. Zielinsky (Constantinople, 1925–30), III, pl. 47.

[17] Pasadaios' sections show a cup-shaped concavity in the crown of the dome, but it is not clear on what evidence this restoration is based: Pasadaios, *op. cit.*, figs. 6 and 13.

[18] G. Millet, *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine* (Paris, 1916), 105–18; Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, 243–45.

[19] It is possible that the Byzantine eye was not really offended by this kind of irregularity. The drums of Pantokrator's north and central churches show similar deformities, despite the importance and richness of this imperial foundation.

tissa in this series lies not in its size or refinement, but in its location in metropolitan Constantinople. For, although both Millet and Krautheimer hypothesized that the development of the Greek-cross-octagon around the Aegean should be linked to Constantinople, until now the archaeology of the capital had not provided a single instance. The new dating of the Kamariotissa, therefore, demonstrates the currency of the Greek-cross-octagon in eleventh-century Constantinople, where formerly we had no concrete evidence of its presence; and this may tell us something of the origin of this important new design.

But the Kamariotissa is also involved in another important development in Middle Byzantine architecture, and that is the quatrefoil plan, or its abbreviation, the trefoil. This plan, with its distinctive apses projecting on the exterior to the north and south, enjoyed extensive use in Serbia and Macedonia down to Late Byzantine times, starting perhaps from its introduction at the Great Lavra of Athos in the second half of the tenth century. But again the absence of contemporary, or near contemporary, instances in Constantinople left the relation of this development to the capital unclear. Krautheimer was obliged to attribute the later occurrence of the quatrefoil plan at Panagia Mougliotissa to belated influences of provincial designs upon Constantinople.[20] The redating of the Kamariotissa, therefore, again changes our picture of the lines of influence in Middle Byzantine architecture by demonstrating the currency of the quatrefoil plan in the capital. And again this may give us a new hint concerning the origin of an important new design idea.

It is significant that Panagia Kamariotissa not only supplies us with our first Constantinopolitan examples of the quatrefoil plan and the Greek-cross-octagon plan, but it furnishes a unique example of both these important plans in a single monument. For the Balkan examples of the tetraconch are never developed with the expansive Greek-cross-octagon plan in the central domed unit; and, on the other hand, the Aegean examples of the Greek-cross-octagon never add apses to the arms of the cross plan. Krautheimer and Millet, following the leads first suggested by Strzygowski, have pointed out the obvious similarities between the Aegean Greek-cross-octagons and church plans with squinches in Armenia, from St. Hrip'simé at Vagharshapat in the seventh century to Aght'amar in the tenth century.[21] But Panagia Kamariotissa with its combination of Greek-cross-octagon plus tetraconch argues a much stronger dependence on Armenia, for the combination of the two elements is as common in Armenia as it is unfamiliar in Byzantine circles. If there were lines of contact between Middle Byzantine architecture of Greece and earlier design ideas of Armenia, those lines could be expected to pass through Constantinople, where, closer to their sources, the plans would be received in a purer state.

The absence of a narthex at the Kamariotissa tends also to strengthen this line of reasoning. As observed above, the masonry in the northwest corner chamber demonstrates that the narthex did not belong to the original plan;

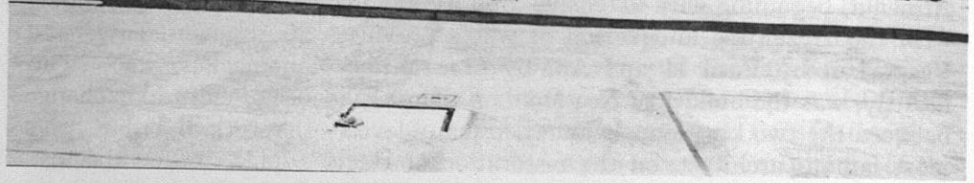
[20] Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, 294.
[21] Millet, *op. cit.*, 105–18; Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, 244.

in a most un-Byzantine fashion one originally entered the church directly into the west apse of the tetraconch. The narthex in Byzantine architecture is so universal that it is very difficult to find other examples of its omission.[22] As a necessary functioning part of church space it served in the early liturgy as the organizing point for the procession of the First Entrance, while in later times it was used for the chanting of the Divine Office.[23] It is quite possible, then, that the absence of a narthex at Heybeliada points to a non-Byzantine influence on the design, and Armenia would be the most likely source of such influence, for in the Armenian tradition the church was originally entered directly, without even porch or entryway; such subsidiary structures as the "gavit" are later additions.[24]

A connection between Middle Byzantine architecture and Armenia is, of course, intrinsically quite possible.[25] The tenth and eleventh centuries were a period of ever-increasing involvement of Constantinople in the affairs of Armenia, beginning with extensive military aid against the Arabs and ending with the Byzantine annexation of whole provinces of Armenia—Tayk' and Vaspurkan by Basil II and Ani by Constantine Monomachus, who, significantly, was the builder of Nea Moni on Chios. Evidence of cultural exchange between the two kingdoms is found on many levels—the work of Trdat, Ani's most famous architect, on the restoration of Hagia Sophia in 989; the residence of the Armenian intellectual Gregory Magistros in Constantinople in the mid-eleventh century; the presence of a permanent Armenian bishop in Constantinople; and, in the other direction, the introduction of Byzantine manuscript painting into Armenian scriptoria; the introduction of the Byzantine antiphons into the Armenian liturgy;[26] and, obviously, the intrusion of Byzantine politics into Armenian government. It is hardly surprising if elements of Armenian architecture should appear in Byzantine church designs at this time.

Of course the resemblances of the Kamariotissa to Armenian designs does not absolutely prove a direct dependence, and the possibility is still open that in Constantinople itself these new design ideas had a much longer history, which archaeology has not as yet uncovered. In either case, the Kamariotissa brings us closer than we had been before to the sources of tetraconch and Greek-cross-octagon in Middle Byzantine architecture, and this is its unique importance to us.

[22] Constantinople's other tetraconch, Panagia Mougliotissa, seems to be the only other exception in the capital. Cf. A. Van Millingen, *The Byzantine Churches of Constantinople* (London, 1912), 272–79. The monument has never been properly studied, and it is quite possible that a new examination of the church will redate it also to the Middle Byzantine period.
[23] T. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople, Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, Penn., 1971), 138–47.
[24] G. de Francovich et al., *Architettura medievale armena* (Rome, 1968), *passim*.
[25] Cf. S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945).
[26] This liturgical detail I owe to correspondence with Rev. Robert F. Taft, S. J., of the Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome.



1. West façade, with Chapel of St. John the Baptist (1797) to Left (photo: Mathews)

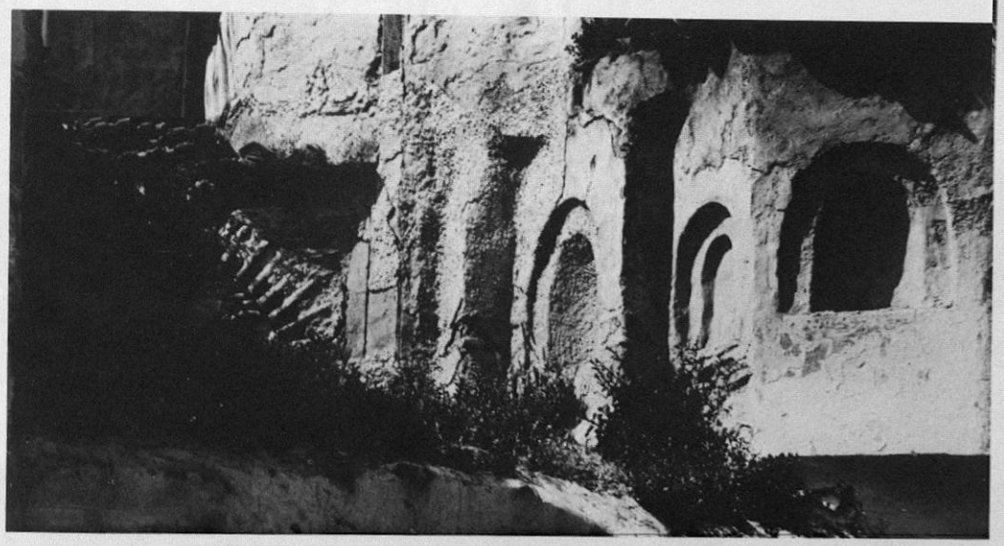
2. View from Southwest showing Outer Narthex, as in 1942 (photo: Eski Eserleri Koruma Encümeni, Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri)

3. Fresco over Central Entrance from Outer to Inner Narthex, as in 1942 (photo: Eski Eserleri Kor

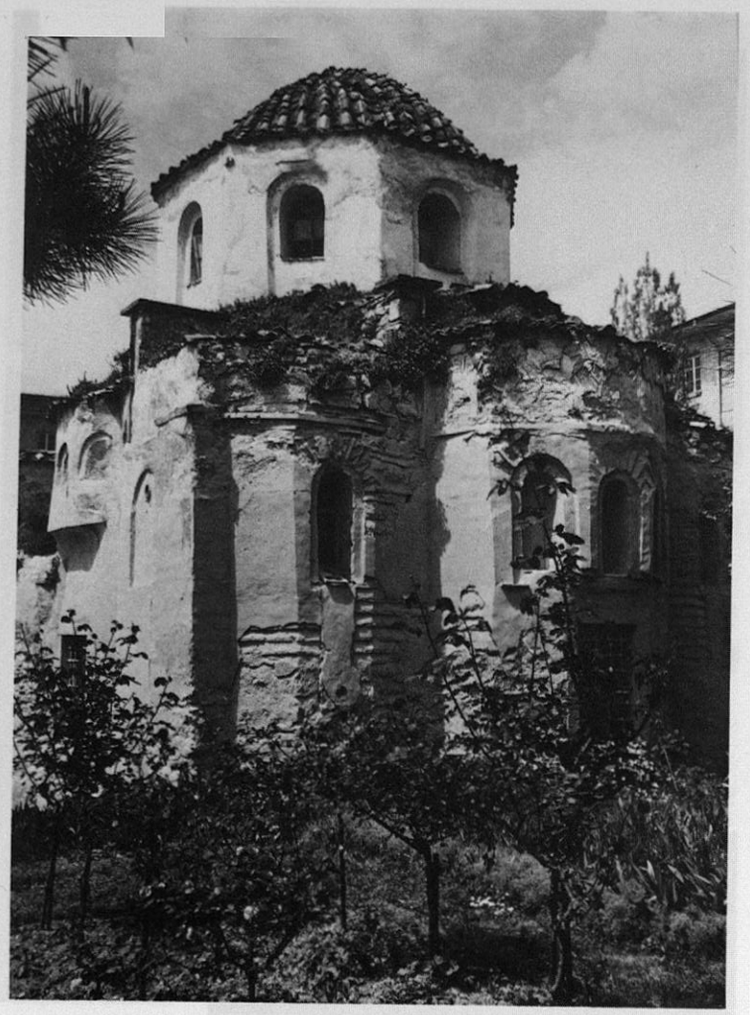
5. View from Northwest (photo: Mathews)

4. Inner Narthex, looking South (photo: Mathews)

6. South Flank of Church with Belfry of 1797 at Left (photo: Mathews)



7. Recessed Niches continued above Southwest Corner Chamber (photo: Mathews)



8. View of Eastern End of Church (photo: Mathews)

9. Detail of Recessed Brick Masonry around Window of Diaconicon (photo: Mathews)

10. Filled-in Niches above Window (photos above) Apse Apse (photo: Mathews)

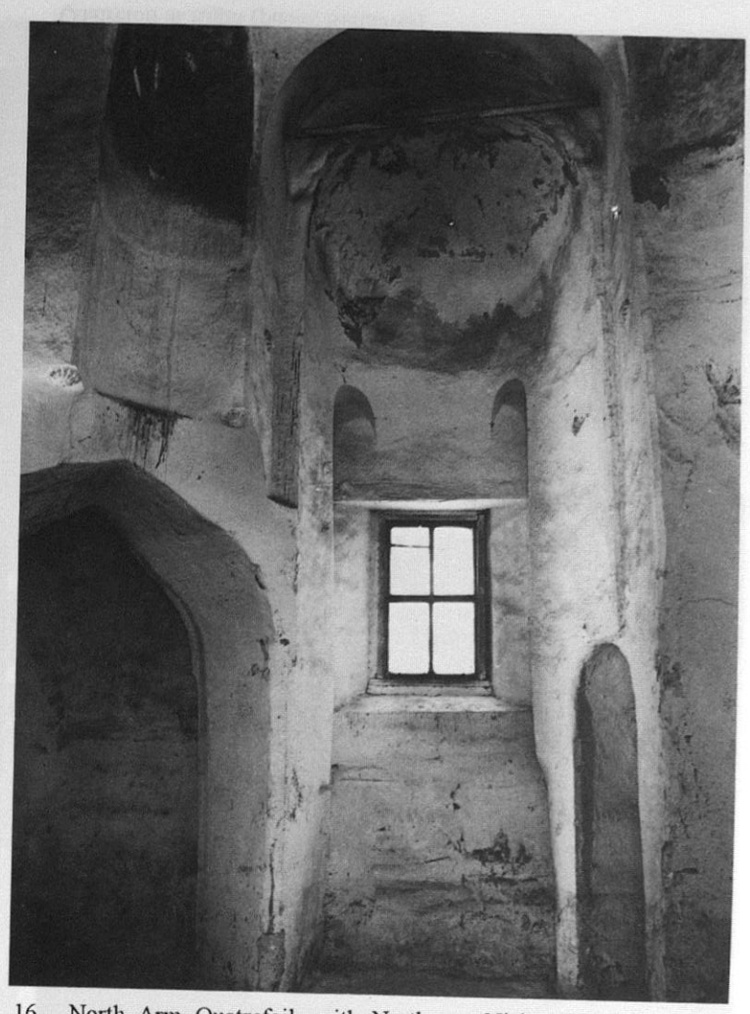
11. Exterior Recessed Niches of North Side of Church, as seen in Northwest Corner Chamber (photo: Mathews)

12. Meeting of Narthex Wall with Wall of Church Proper, as seen in Northwest Corner Chamber (photo: Mathews)

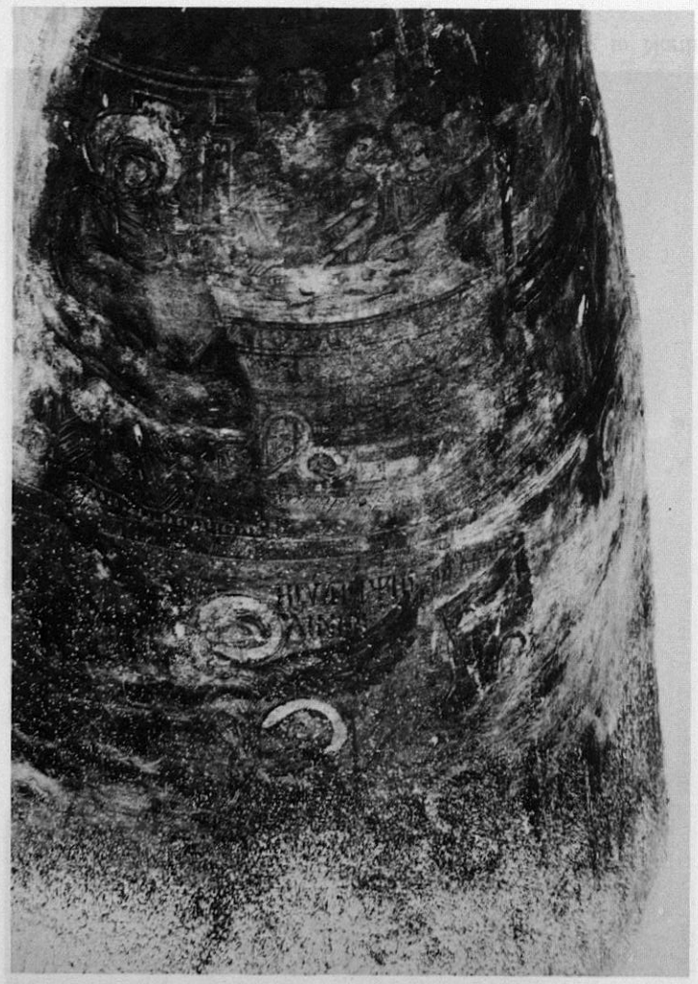
14. Southeast Niche, ...uary at Left and South Arm of ... Quatrefoil at Right (ph...

13. East, Sanctuary Apse, and Flanking Niches (photo: Mathews)

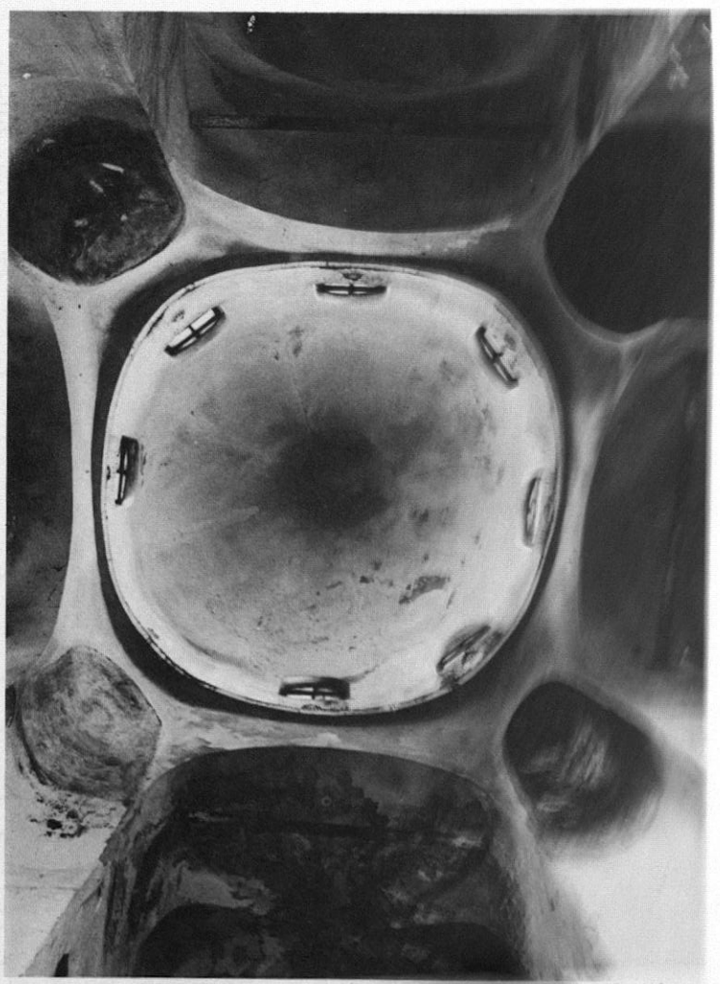
15. Southeast Niche as seen in 1942, showing Frescoes and Iconostasis Fitting (photo: Mathews)



16. North Arm Quatrefoil, with Northwest Niche cut away (photo: Mathews)



17. Fresco in Southwest Niche (photo: Mathews)



18. View of Vaulting, with East at Bottom of Photograph (photo: Mathews)

20. Vaulting of Diaconicon Chamber (photo: Mathews)

19. Prothesis Chamber with partially blocked Window to North (Left) and Window to Sanctuary at Right (photo: Mathews)

THE EARLY ARMENIAN ICONOGRAPHIC PROGRAM OF THE ĒJMIACIN GOSPEL

(Erevan, Matenadaran MS 2374, *olim* 229)*

THE Ējmiacin Gospel includes three different sets of illustrations in sharply contrasting styles: (1) preface miniatures at the beginning of the codex; (2) occasional marginal miniatures within the text; and (3) four miniatures at the end of the book (figs. 1-4).[1] Not having sufficient comparable material at hand, Josef Strzygowski misattributed all three sets of miniatures. The initial and concluding miniatures he identified as Syrian painting of the fifth and sixth centuries, respectively, while the marginal illuminations he attributed to Yovannēs, the tenth-century Armenian scribe mentioned in the colophon.[2] Frédéric Macler[3] and Kurt Weitzmann[4] both took issue with this sorting of the material, but the final solution of the puzzle was offered by Sirarpie Der Nersessian in two separate articles.[5] The marginal miniatures in the text, Der Nersessian points out, are associated with the division of the text into pericopes, and these divisions on the grounds of paleography must be dated to the eleventh or twelfth century. The initial miniatures, on the other hand, on the basis of both style and content are entirely consistent with tenth-century Armenian painting and should be assigned to the date and place indicated in the colophon of the book, that is, 989 in the monastery of Noravank^{c} in the canton of Błean, in the province of Siwnik^{c}.[6]

The four concluding miniatures, which are the subject of this paper, are somewhat more difficult to place. Stitched in on a pair of stubs at the end of the text but before the colophon, they derived from an older manuscript that was somewhat larger and were trimmed to fit their present setting.[7] The four miniatures carry no inscriptions that might betray their date or land of origin. On the basis of style, however, Der Nersessian has argued that the miniatures belong to the sphere of Armenian painting prior to the Arab invasions that began in 640. On the one hand the style of the miniatures stands apart from the style of early Syrian manuscript painting, while on the other hand the wide-eyed, oval faces compare well with the faces of the tetramorphs, for example, at the early seventh-century church of St. Stephen at Lmbat.[8]

Some confirmatory evidence for this attribution can be found in the system of illustration exhibited by the four miniatures. Within the wide range of systems of Gospel

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illumination developed in the world of Byzantine and East Christian art, the "classic Armenian system" constitutes a unique contribution to the realm of the illuminated book. As represented in manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Armenian system consists of a set of full-page scenes which follow the canon tables and are in turn followed by portraits of the evangelists, often the four grouped together on a single page.[9] The four concluding miniatures of the Ējmiacin Gospel fit most comfortably into this peculiarly Armenian system. The set is composed of four subjects, the Annunciation to Zachariah, the Annunciation to the Virgin, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Baptism. The full-page format of the miniatures and the selection of the subjects point toward the Armenian system. It is also significant that the fourth scene in this set, the Baptism, includes in its borders the portrait busts of the four evangelists. Insofar as the classic Armenian system concluded with a page, or pages, of the evangelists, the placement of evangelist medallions in the border of the Baptism suggests that [illegible] as the concluding scene of the set. It is proposed that we have here, in compact [illegible] the earliest instance of the classic Armenian system of Gospel [illegible].

[illegible] For the work of the art [illegible] is not simply to identify the cultural context to which the material under consideration belongs, but to interpret the material in that context. If we are looking at the first consecutive set of Armenian Gospel iconography, we cannot avoid asking what has dictated the selection of this set of scenes and what has shaped the iconography. The challenge is to reconstruct the thought patterns that lie behind these four miniatures. The iconography under examination here makes a strong and coherent statement of early Armenian reflections on the central mystery of the Epiphany, and at the same time it contains some of the strongest evidence for the early date of the miniatures.

Two presuppositions underlie the present enterprise. The first is that Early Christian art is never a naive, storytelling art. Between the unadorned Gospel narrative and its translation into images something invariably intervenes, and that "something" constitutes the most important ingredient for interpreting the work of art. For every process of selecting Gospel material and every shaping of the material into concrete images involves a partisan exegesis of the text, and every exegesis belongs to a time-bound and culturally conditioned way of receiving the Christian message.

The second presupposition involves the manner of using literary sources. In invoking literary sources to explain visual material one need not imply a cause-and-effect relationship between the two. One does not have to imagine the painter with a patristic library on his shelf in order to invoke patristic sources; one need only demonstrate that the literary and visual materials both come from the same milieu. Literary and visual material are parallel manifestations of the same culture; artist and theologian breathe the same air, and the same fabric of ideas appears in both their works. In the present context I have tried to restrict the use of literary sources to early Armenian material or to other sources known to have been translated into Armenian at an early date.[10]

THE ANNUNCIATION TO ZACHARIAH

The unifying theme of the four miniatures under investigation is obviously the Epiphany, the celebration of which at the opening of the Armenian church year embraces the Birth and Baptism of Christ and includes the Gospel readings for all four of the Ējmiacin miniatures.[11] In the first act of our four-part drama we witness the encounter between Zachariah, father-to-be of the Baptist, and the angel Gabriel (fig. 1). Although this is the starting point of Luke's account of the events leading up to the birth of Christ, the subject is extremely rare in Early Christian art. The selection of so unusual a scene must indicate some special importance attached to the figure of Zachariah. In addition, several features of the iconography remove the scene from the realm of simple storytelling and begin to direct us toward a peculiarly Armenian understanding of the mystery of the Epiphany.

Only two other occurrences of the subject survive in this period, and the two show an interesting contrast in composition. In the Gospel of St. Augustine, a Latin manuscript of the sixth century, Zachariah, tunic-clad and holding incense in his right hand, stands behind an altar while the angel in profile approaches from the left;[12] in the Rabbula Gospel of 586, however, it is the angel who stands behind the altar, framed by an arch, while Zachariah approaches with incense from the right (fig. 5)[13] The Ējmiacin miniature is of this same general type of composition; the angel is more or less behind the altar framed by the temple facade while Zachariah approaches from the right. This Syro-Armenian composition also distinguishes itself from the later Byzantine examples of the subject, which generally show the angel entering and finding Zachariah at the altar.[14] In this respect the Syro-Armenian composition shows a greater sensitivity to the narrative of Luke in which Zachariah is said to have entered and found the angel standing at the altar (Lk. 1:9-11). But there is a further significance to this Syro-Armenian composition to which we will return in connection with the Annunciation to the Virgin.

Other details are unique to the Ējmiacin handling of the subject. First, the angelic messenger, beyond his customary long tunic, staff, and fillet, has wings of peacock plumage. Although peacocks are nearly ubiquitous in Roman and Early Christian art, the use of their gorgeous feathers for angel wings is unusual and cannot be without significance.[15] The known instances indicate something of a pattern. The pair of peacock-angels on the triumphal arch of St. Catherine's on Mt. Sinai lack explanatory inscription, though they are firmly dated 548-60.[16] But when peacock-angels appear in the apse of the Panagia Angelokistos on Cyprus, dated to the late sixth century, they bear bold inscriptions identifying them as Michael and Gabriel (fig. 6).[17] The only other example that has come to light, a sixth-century relief of Proconnesian marble in the Antalya Museum, is also inscribed: "The Archangel Gabriel."[18] The dates of these monuments are convenient in connection with our proposed pre-Arab date of the Ējmiacin miniatures, and the inscriptions are also convenient. The angel who appears to Zachariah identifies himelf, "I am Gabriel, who stand in the presence of God" (Lk. 1:19). Clearly the peacock plumage is being used to set apart a special class of angels, the archangels. Consciousness of ranks and distinctions among angels is a

well-known phenomenon of the late sixth century linked to the popularity of the *Celestial Hierarchies* of Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite.[19]

Further symbolic associations may also be intended in giving the angel peacock wings. A Christian symbolism of the entire animal kingdom was systematically developed in Early Christian times in a series of editions of the *Physiologus*, including translation into Armenian.[20] The Baptism miniature, as we will see below, makes unmistakable reference to the *Physiologus*, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that a similar reference may be intended here. According to the *Physiologus*, "The peacock is the most pleasant of all birds of the sky. Comely in form and beautiful in his wings, the peacock walks about and regards himself with pleasure. He struts excitedly and looks on the world with disdain; but when he casts a glance on his own feet he cries out weeping grievously, for his feet are not in keeping with the rest of his beauty."[21] From this observation the moralizing author concludes that the Christian should take his delight in the gifts with which God graces him, but he should weep over his unattractive parts, his sins. If the artist is conscious of such symbolism, then he has created in his angel a creature of pure grace, for in place of the unattractive parts that the peacock had to bewail, the angel is given the body of a handsome youth.

Rank and distinction are also important in the iconography of Zachariah himself. In this respect our miniature shows a peculiar sense of fidelity to the priest's Old Testament situation. One should note that, according to the Mosaic law, the altar of incense was to be placed before the veil that hung before the ark of the covenant (Ex. 30:6), as our painter observed. The painter also did his best to observe the details of the priest's vestments as described in Exodus 28 and 39.[22] The outer mantle is decorated with two panels of precious stones mounted in gold, which are meant to illustrate the "breastpiece of judgment" (Ex. 28:16-21). Beneath this Zachariah wears the "robe of the ephod," which was made of blue, with bells of gold around its skirts (Ex. 28:31-35). Around his miter was prescribed a gold diadem of sorts, which the artist has shown as a kind of golden laurel wreath (Ex. 28:36-38; Lv. 8:9).

What is most interesting about this iconography is not the degree of archeological accuracy but the clear departure of the iconography from the Gospel of Luke. For the vestments depicted are those of the High Priest, which according to St. Luke Zachariah certainly was not; he was simply one of the large staff of priests, organized in twenty-four courses, who took turns according to lot in offering incense in the temple (Lk. 1:8-9). It is the apocrypha that elevate Zachariah to the status of High Priest and transform him from an incidental figure into one of the major protagonists of the early life of Christ.

The innumerable recensions of New Testament apocrypha, in many languages, testify to their wide popularity in Early Christian times. Ironically their popularity seems to contribute to their neglect in modern times, for scholars tend to infer that they were essentially a frivolous literature, an entertainment genre more or less on a par with the mindless soap opera of our day.[23] The inference is incorrect and the neglect deserves to be remedied. The apocrypha may entertain, but they are not without a point of view, a cultural bias, and often a theological message. The *Armenian Infancy Gospel* especially deserves reexamination.[24] Paul Peeters, who traced its history,

assigned it a sixth-century Armenian origin by way of paraphrase and expansion of Syriac sources. At the same time, he points out, there also existed in Armenian translations of the *Protoevangelium* of James, a document widely circulated in Greek and Syriac starting in the second century.[25]

It is the *Protoevangelium* that first speaks of Zachariah as a High Priest, and indeed mentions his robe fringed with bells. To his role as father of the Baptist the *Protoevangelium* adds his role in finding a celibate spouse to ensure the virginity of Christ's mother.[26] The *Armenian Infancy Gospel*, however, enlarges even further the priest's role in a series of separate episodes: Zachariah assigns Mary her sacred employment of spinning for the veil of the temple; after she has conceived he prophetically forecasts the salvation that will spring from her; when Joseph is accused of having violated Mary's virginity, Zachariah presides over the trial-by-poison that proves their innocence; finally, during the Massacre of the Innocents, he lays down his life in the sanctuary rather than reveal the whereabouts of his newborn son John.[27]

Something more is involved here besides the storytelling. Behind the legend and behind the iconography stands a profound theological conviction common to the Syrian and Armenian churches but not shared by the rest of the Christian world, a conviction that the priesthood of Christ, in order to be authentic, had to be continuous with the priesthood of the Old Testament. While elsewhere theologians insist that Christ was priest in "the order of Melchisedek" (Heb. 6:20; 7), meaning that he was a kind of maverick priest coming from outside the Levitical line to replace it with a new spiritual priesthood, the Syrian fathers, as Robert Murray has demonstrated, were concerned with a linear continuity of priesthood, which they imagined to be passed on from Aaron down to Zachariah.[28] From Zachariah it was passed on to John the Baptist, who conferred it directly on Christ at his Baptism. The Rabbula Gospel illustrates this continuity graphically by placing the first High Priest, Aaron, holding the rod of his election, directly over the Annunciation to Zachariah (fig. 5).

The new importance of Zachariah in the *Armenian Infancy Gospel* parallels his prominence as High Priest in the opening scene of our Ējmiacin Gospel miniatures, and both have their explanation in the theological role assigned to Zachariah as the essential link in Christ's inheritance of authentic priesthood. To this theme and its Armenian theological development we must return in the last miniature, the Baptism, which is, in this view, Christ's ordination. But we must recall that there was also in Armenia a very tangible component of this belief in Christ's hereditary priesthood, for in Armenia the Christian priesthood was also largely hereditary. Priesthood was the special prerogative of two families, the Gregorids and the Ałbianids, a phenomenon which Adontz describes as a feature of the naχarar structure of Armenian society.[29] The Byzantine Council of Troullo went out of its way to condemn the Armenian custom of hereditary priesthood in 692, but of course without effect.[30] The Armenian liturgy reinforced this parallel between the Armenian priesthood and Zachariah's ancient Levitical priesthood. The vesting prayer at the start of the liturgy describes the priest's robes as the prescribed robes of Aaron, including his bell-fringed ephod; and the hymn of incensing compares the priest's sacred task to that of Zachariah.[31]

THE ANNUNCIATION TO THE VIRGIN

The Annunciation to the Virgin is among the most common subjects in Early Christian art, yet it exhibits in the Ēǰmiacin Gospel several noteworthy features that remove it from the unadorned narrative of Luke's Gospel (fig. 2). I have already remarked on the special iconography of the angel, who appears with peacock wings as he did in the Annunciation to Zachariah. I have also alluded to the shift in composition between the two annunciations. Whereas Zachariah approached the angel, here the angel, according to a formula also found in the Rabbula Gospel, approaches the Virgin, who is enframed by the archway of her house (figs. 1, 5, 7). The consistency of the Rabbula and Ēǰmiacin miniatures in observing this difference is probably not fortuitous, for it is a point remarked upon by Ephrem the Syrian. In his *Commentary on the Diatesseron*, which was translated into Armenian in the fifth century, he observes: "Zachariah approached the angel, to make it clear that his [Zachariah's] child was to be less than the angel; but the angel himself made approach to Mary, to make it clear that her Child was the Lord of the angel."[32] Both Ephrem and the illuminators are conscious that in proper ceremonial etiquette the lesser in dignity should go in to meet the greater.

In response to the angel's greeting the Virgin has risen from her wicker chair and let fall her spinning in the basket before her. Once again the apocrypha intervene between the Gospel text and its illustration. Both the *Protoevangelium* and the *Armenian Infancy Gospel* refer to the Virgin's occupation of spinning at the time of the Annunciation, but again the detail is more than a matter of "narrative coloring."[33] In the ancient world at large spinning was the occupation of the noble woman and a sign of her devotion to domestic duties. Whether on Greek or Roman funerary reliefs, the faithful wife is shown repeatedly with distaff, spindle, and basket, or any one of these signs of her domesticity.[34] Especially during the absence of a husband, when a woman's behavior might be expected to become frivolous, it was important that she prove her constancy by spinning; hence the story of Penelope's industry during Ulysses' absence. It was important, then, that Mary, receiving this strange visitor in the absence of her husband, should be represented spinning like the upright and noble woman that she was.

In the iconography of the Annunciation the Virgin's hands are commonly occupied with her labor, but often too she gestures in response to the angel with a sign of speech or surprise, refusal or acceptance. The pensive gesture in which she raises her hand to her chin in the Ēǰmiacin Gospel is unusual. It occurs in the Basilica Euphrasiana, Parenzo (530-35), and in a more affected form in an ivory of the sixth or seventh century in the Castello Sforzesco, Milan.[35] In classical art this is the standard gesture of deep perplexity.[36] Its use in the Penelope fresco from Pompeii (fig. 8) presents a striking parallel to its use in our miniature. The Virgin's perplexity was mentioned by Luke: "She was greatly troubled at the saying and considered in her mind what sort of greeting this might be" (Lk. 1:29). But while in Luke the issue was resolved in eight verses, the discussion expands to eight long paragraphs in the *Armenian Infancy Gospel*.[37] This special interest in the Virgin's uncertainty is peculiar to the Armenian

apocryphon. Just as Penelope (Odyssey, XIX, 100-334) was confronted with a strange messenger (her husband in disguise) bringing her word of her husband's long-awaited return, the Virgin was confronted with a messenger she had never met promising the long-awaited Savior of Israel. Like Penelope she had to test the veracity of the messenger; she asks for assurances both of the divine origin of his message and of the protection of her virginity. This may resemble the soap opera's exploitation of a potentially compromising situation, but the author of the *Armenian Infancy Gospel* uses the dialogue to spell out the most fundamental dogma of the Incarnation. Mary need not fear for her viriginity, the angel explains, because the Lord who appeared to Moses in the burning bush without consuming a leaf would take flesh in her without the agency of man; her child was to be the Son of God.

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

The third miniature is the most complex of the four and the most difficult to interpret (fig. 3). The event is pictured in the domestic setting indicated by the Gospel of Matthew: "Going into the house they saw the child with Mary his mother" (2:11), but many features of the iconography involve apocryphal sources. Around the simple nucleus of Matthew's narrative a bewildering fabric of legend quickly grew up, including recensions in Latin, Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, and Uigur. Ugo Monneret de Villard has provided us with the basic map through this forest of material.[38] While some of the Syrian sources can be connected with the iconography of the Ēǰmiacin miniature, the most convincing associations are with the *Armenian Infancy Gospel*.

Beside the throne of the Virgin stands an angel who introduces the eldest of the three visitors. Although this motif occurs in other, non-Armenian representations, it seems to have its best explanation in the *Armenian Infancy Gospel*. For while in other accounts of the coming of the Magi it is always the appearance of the star that informs them of Christ's birth, in the Armenian version it is the angel Gabriel.[39] As soon as he had delivered his message to Mary, Gabriel went directly to the Magi to invite them to worship the Child who was to be born. The journey of the Magi then coincided with the nine months' pregnancy of the Virgin.

Early Christain art customarily shows the Magi dressed in floppy Phrygian caps, short tunics, and loose pants; in the commonest version they stand in a file offering gifts on veiled hands.[40] The dress, the pose, and the veiled hands have all been traced to origins in Roman imperial art where vanquished orientals are shown paying homage to the emperor.[41] The Ēǰmiacin miniature, on the other hand, follows a more complex composition in which the Mother of God, enthroned, takes a frontal pose in the center while the Magi group on either side. This composition was employed in the sixth-century ampulae from the Holy Land as well as in a pair of ivories which have been assigned an origin in Syria or Palestine.[42] Moreover, the dress of the Ēǰmiacin Magi makes specific eastern references.

Instead of the usual floppy Phrygian caps, the Magi wear firm domical hats set with

rows of pearls and decorated with bands, tied in back, falling loose in fluttering ribbons. In spite of some damage, these ribbons are clear in the Magus who turns his head in profile (fig. 9), and they are traceable in the Magus on the right. But this kind of headdress is characteristic of the authentic magi, the priests of the Zoroastrian cult. On Sasanian seals magi, identified by inscriptions, wear domical tiaras studded with pearls and fastened with fluttering ribbons (fig. 10), in addition they have large pendant pearl earrings like those of the Ējmiacin Magi.[43] The same form of tiara, decorated with appropriate insignia, could also serve a prince or high government official, and this is true of the rest of the clothing of the Magi. The articles they wear—trousers, jacket, and cloak—are indeed proper to priests; derived from riding clothes, this outfit lessened the danger of ritual contamination that could result from brushing against objects with more copious, flowing garments.[44] Yet nearly the same dress, perhaps in different colors, was worn by the princely class of Parthian and Sasanian Iran. For example, at Dura-Europos in the third century, when Mordecai was shown in triumph, his royal Parthian robes were decorated with rich bands of embroidered material like those of our Magi, and he wore a beribboned tiara.[45] A further royal association must be read in the curious pose of our three Magi, who although they are in motion toward the Mother of God nevertheless keep their heels together. As Grabar pointed out, this seems to be the result of an attempt to adapt the seated pose of Sasanian royalty, who commonly assume a frontal posture with their knees apart and their heels together.[46]

If the artist has combined priestly and royal attributes in the Ējmiacin Magi, this is perfectly in keeping with the literary sources. According to the *Armenian Infancy Gospel*, the Magi were priestly guardians of a secret book of divine revelation which they passed on from father to son.[47] This document, which told of the coming of the Savior, had been given by the Lord to Adam, who passed it on to Seth. It came into the hands of the Magi from Melchizedek, who had received it from Abraham in the time of King Cyrus. It is not clear in the text whether the author regarded Melchizedek as a magus, but it is clear that he saw him as the link by which some measure of orthodoxy and authentic revelation was conferred on the priesthood of the magi.

At the same time the Apocrypha identify the Magi as kings. Both the Syrian *Book of Cave of Treasures* and the *Armenian Infancy Gospel* picture the Magi traveling to Judea with their armed forces. The Syrian source identifies them specifically as Sasanian kings, clothed in double costumes with priestly garb on top of their royal robes.[48] According to the Armenian sources, however, they were three royal brothers, Melkʿon, king of Persia, Paltasar, king of India, and Gaspar, king of Arabia.[49]

Christ as king deserved the worship of kings. The basic catechism of Armenia, the *Teaching of St. Gregory*, emphasizes the Davidic inheritance of Christ's kingship in the context of his birth from the Virgin Mary. He is called prince, "because 'a branch springs from the root of Jesse, says Isaiah, and a flower from his branches (Is. 11:1),' that is, the birth of the daughter of David. Then he will sit on the throne of David and will bring his kingdom to success." Furthermore, "the only begotten Son of God, the beloved who shares the Father's throne, became a son of David (Mt. 22:42) and elevated his throne forever. . . . And He was declared king not only by the previous indications, but also by a sign at the time itself by the magi who came and said: 'Where

is he who was born king of the Jews (Mt. 2:2)?' And they inquired from the scribes and arrived where the child was; there they worshipped and paid Him obeisance."[50]

It was equally important, from a polemical point of view, that the Magi be identified as priests. Insofar as Armenia was Zoroastrian before it was Christian and was long pressured by its Sasanian overlords to return to its pre-Christian practice, it was important to portray the priests of Zoroastrianism acknowledging a higher priesthood in worshipping the Christ Child.[51] Whatever truth Zoroastrianism could claim, and whatever authenticity its priesthood had, it could only lead, according to the apocrypha and according to the Ējmiacin miniature, to the more complete truth of Christianity.

The miniature contains a more obscure allusion to Zoroastrianism in the distinction of the three ages of the Magi. The Magus beside the angel is shown with the grey hair and beard of an old man; the next, in profile, has the black hair and beard of a mature adult; and the last, on the left, is shown as a beardless adolescent. Although this iconographic detail is adopted widely in Middle Byzantine art, it is an anomaly in the Early Christian period.[52] It has its parallel, however, in the *Armenian Infancy Gospel* in which the three Magi in worshipping Christ have three different visions of him. Going out afterward they exchanged their impressions among themselves; Gaspar reported seeing a child "Son of God incarnate, seated on a throne of glory." Paltasar, however, saw him as commander of the heavenly forces "seated on an exalted throne before whom a countless army fell down and adored." Finally, Melkon saw him dying in torment, rising, and returning to life.[53] Returning twice more, the three Magi found their visions exchanged to confirm the identity of the three manifestations of Christ.

This curious story has parallels in two other apocrypha. In the *Chronicle of Zuqnīn*, attributed by Monneret de Villard to Edessa before 50, the triple vision takes place before the Magi set out from home; and in Marco Polo's *Legend of the Magi*, also of Syrian derivation, the three visions are said to correspond to the ages of the Magi—each sees Christ to be of his own age.[54] The three apocrypha are clearly connected, and the three ages of the Magi in the Ējmiacin miniature must be associated with this triple vision of Christ.

The background of this triple vision, as Leonard Olschi analyzed it, must be found in Zoroastrianism, and specifically in the later form of that religion known as Zurvanism.[55] Throughout its history Zoroastrianism was much concerned with time—infinite time, or "zurvan," and three cosmic units of time (creation, separation, and mixture) which entered the liturgy personified as objects of veneration. Zurvanism may be viewed as a kind of gnostic attempt to minimize the basic dualism of Zoroastrianism by reducing the creators of good and evil, Ohrmazd and Ahriman, to the status of twin sons of Zurvan, eternal time. Obscure though it be, this was the Zoroastrian doctrine encountered by the Armenians in the fifth century. Eznik addressed himself to Zurvanism in his treatise *On the Sects*,[56] and the Armenian Church Council of 450 was convened precisely to formulate a response to Zurvanism. As the Council said, in part, "God did not receive the beginnings of his existence from anyone, but he is eternal in himself; he is not in any place but is his own place; he is not in any time but time derives from him; and he is prior not only to heaven but also to the thoughts of men and angels."[57]

It is this eternal Christ whom the artist has tried to represent in the Ējmiacin miniature, worshipped by Magi representing three ages of cosmic, earthly time. Christ himself, one must observe, is represented in a most exceptional iconography, for he does not sit directly in his Mother's lap but inhabits an oval aureole or mandorla of blue which she holds in her hands. The basically visionary character of the mandorla in Early Christian art has been ignored; there has been a tendency to turn exclusively to Roman imperial sources for its explanation.[58] Mandorlas in general have been regarded as a Christian takeover of the *imago clipeata*. In Roman art, shields, generally round but sometimes also oval, were a common form of funeral portrait which by growth in popularity was adopted in imperial portraiture as well. The mandorla, then, is seen as an instance of the adaptation of triumphal imperial imagery to Christian purposes; as Der Nersessian says of the mandorla in the Ējmiacin miniature, "C'est l'image sacrée du souverain offerte à l'adoration de ses fidèles."[59] There is, however, an obvious impropriety in such an interpretation in the present context, for the artist could not have intended to show the Virgin holding an image of the Christ Child. The narrative, whether in the Gospel or the apocrypha, can hardly accommodate such a reading: the Magi did not journey nine months to behold only a picture of the newborn king. Something more is intended in the mandorla.

There is a gap between the Roman prototypes and the Christian mandorla iconography which has been overlooked in earlier discussions. Roman clipeate portraits are exclusively bust images, a characteristic that emphasizes the purely pictorial status of the one represented. By contrast, the image in the Christian mandorla whether in the Ējmiacin miniature or elsewhere, is a full-length figure clearly endowed with life and movement. While the *imago clipeata* consists of a flat surface to which the bust image is affixed, the Christian mandorla surface exists behind the figure. The figure enjoys the freedom of a living body in front of the mandorla; he can overstep and reach beyond the border of the mandorla and other figures can interact with him by entering over the border.[60] Finally, while the clipeate oval is a plain field, the mandorla is often bordered in concentric bands of color, especially red, white, and green, as in the Rabbula Gospel or in the Armenian frescoes of Lmbat and Tʿalin.[61]

All of these features can be traced in early Buddhist art in Central Asia. Though the shape of the Buddhist aureole is variable—oval, circular, or flame-shaped—the Buddha in front of the aureole is always a full-length figure, whether standing or seated, and he enjoys the same kind of reality status as Christ does before his mandorla. This is most clear in sculpted images, in which the Buddha stands independent in front of the aureole;[62] but it is also clear from the fact that the Buddha can overstep the border or be joined by other living figures who enter his space in front of the aureole.[63] The field of the aureole is sometimes blue as in Christian art, and it is often bordered in concentric bands of red, white, and green.[64] Finally, it should be pointed out that the iconography of the Buddha in his oval aureole was in circulation long before Christian art made use of the motif.The coin of King Kaniṣka I carrying such an image of the Buddha has been dated by Rosenfield to the first decades of the second century (fig. 11).[65]

The meaning of the mandorla therefore must be reassessed. It is not a shield, nor does it represent a picture of Christ in the hands of the Virgin; rather, like the Buddhist

aureole it is meant as a radiance, a circle of light, a zone of glory.[66] In the iconography of the Ējmiacin Gospel the mandorla is intended to emphasize the visionary nature of the Magis' encounter with the Divine Child in whom they beheld the supratemporal character of Zurvan, that is, eternity.

One final detail of the Ējmiacin miniature that has escaped notice is the gesture of the Christ Child. In Early Christian iconography of the Adoration of the Magi, the Child sometimes reaches out to receive the gifts that are offered, but most commonly he raises his right hand in benediction. The extended right arm with the palm turned toward the viewer is unique in Early Christian iconography. It is a gesture, however, that is known in both Roman imperial art and in early Buddhist art with the same overtones. In Roman art it is the gesture of imperial largess, as on the Arch of Galerius in Thessalonike;[67] in Buddhist art it is the *varada*, or *segan-in mudrā*, the gesture of charity, the dispensing of favors.[68] Thus, in the final analysis the artist has presented in bold terms the stark paradoxes inherent in the Incarnation. Christ is represented as eternal Lord, beyond the succession of birth, growth, and death, though he has assumed these limitations in his human nature; he is surrounded with a glory so pronounced that even his all-pure Mother cannot hold him in her hands, though she has just given birth to him; the Magi offer him gold, incense, and myrrh, but in his gesture of charity he is beyond need of gifts, for he is the source and dispenser of all favors.

Such a position is of course entirely consonant with the anti-Nestorian preoccupations of the Armenian church in the sixth century. For Armenian polemicists the term Nestorian included the "heresy" of Chalcedon, for Chalcedon's insistence on the two natures of Christ, each perfect in itself and unconfused in their union, sounded very much like Nestorius' separation of the two natures.[69] Nestorius' own position the Armenians confronted in its most radical form as the katʿołikos Babgēn defined it in his letter of 505: "The Katʿołikos of Assyria and the other bishops who are Nestorians teach that God [i.e., the Word] was two sons: the one, God, the Word, equal to the Father, who descended from the heaven, and the other, Jesus, mortal man like us who was born of Mary and who because of his becoming more righteous than any other man, was honoured and by grace called 'Son of God' [thus being] only by name and not [truly] Son of God and equal to the Father."[70] The Adoration of the Magi as illustrated in the Ējmiacin Gospel and amplified in the *Armenian Infancy Gospel* makes a strong statement of the orthodox Armenian position: Christ was not a man who became divinized; rather, at his very birth from the Virgin Mary he was fully divine, the eternal Word of God, and this divinity was seen and recognized by the Magi when they came offering their gifts.

THE BAPTISM

The fourth miniature is both the conclusion and the climax of the set (fig. 4). It is the only miniature that is formally enframed, and the iconography of the frame enters into the statement made by the miniature itself. As noted previously, the evangelists' portraits found in the four corners signal the conclusion of the set, according to the classic

Armenian system of Gospel illustration. In their original setting the text of the Gospels would have followed directly on the next page. The iconography of the evangelists offers one more corroboration of the early dating of the miniatures, for the uniform age and appearance of the four authors have their nearest parallel in the four busts of the evangelists in the sixth-century Rossano Gospels.[71] Later evangelists tend to be distinguished into a pair of older men (Matthew and John) and a pair of younger (Mark and Luke).

The Baptism climaxes the Armenian liturgical celebration of the Epiphany. The text of the event (Mt. 3:1-17) is the reading for the Blessing of the Water with which the Epiphany liturgy concludes.[72] The Armenian custom of associating Baptism with Birth in the same feast has consequences in the iconography.

In general the iconography of the scene can best be described as archaic.[73] The ministering angels, the attendant disciples, and the personification of the River Jordan, all of which are introduced into the Baptism in the course of the sixth century, are missing from the Ējmiacin miniature. Instead the miniature follows closely the simpler scheme used in the Rabbula Gospel (fig. 12). John, clad in his heavy garment of camel's hair, stands on the left and leans over to place his right hand on the head of Christ. The naked figure of Christ emerges, chest-deep in the water of the Jordan, and directly over his head the dove of the Holy Spirit descends from the hand of the Father in a manifestation of the Trinity. The words from heaven, "This is my beloved Son, with whom I am well pleased" (Mt. 3:17), were linked in Armenian to the text of Psalms 2:7, "The Lord said to me, 'You are my son, today I have begotten you.' " The latter was the Midday Psalm for the feast of Epiphany.[74] The parallel of the two verses seemed to confirm the Armenian identification of the day of Christ's Baptism with his birthday. This association seems also to have suggested one detail in which the iconography departs from that of the Rabbula Gospel, and that is the portrayal of Christ as a beardless young man. The origins and original meaning of the two types of Christ, bearded and beardless, remain obscure,[75] but in our Armenian context the preference for the beardless youth should be tied to the persistent association of Baptism with Birth.

The iconography of the Baptism may be said to restate the divinity of Christ within a Trinitarian context. This cannot be claimed as a peculiarly Armenian feature of the subject, for it derives directly from the Gospel text and is understood fairly universally in the iconography of the subject in Early Christian times. For an Armenian statement of the theme one may turn to the passage on Christ's Baptism in the *Teaching of St. Gregory*: "He who came from the bosom of the Father is versed in the mysteries of his begetter. For there is no lack with Him of the grace of the Spirit, but He Himself is one with the Father and the Spirit in will, in mind and purpose; for He Himself is the distributor of the grace of the Holy Spirit. For the Father loves his Son, and all things established by the Father are through the Son. And what is of the Father, the same is also of the Son; and as is the Father, so also is the Son; and all the grace of the Spirit is distributed by the Son."[76]

More peculiar to our Armenian context, however, are the implications of the iconography of the border in which we find repeated ten times the image of the pelican

(fig. 13). Indentifiable by her color as *pelecanus roseus*, a species that ranges from southeast Europe to Asia,[77] she spreads her wings and pecks at her breast while standing in a lavish chalice. The chalice and the paten that accompanies it are encrusted with pearls and other large jewels and further decorated with pendant pearls on delicate gold chains. This motif, the pelican in a chalice, is unknown in Byzantine art where the pelican is used in the marginal Psalters as a symbol of loneliness in connection with Psalm 102:7.[78] The motif should also be distinguished from Western use of the "Pelican in her Piety" where she appears seated in her nest surrounded by her young.[79] The pelican in a chalice deserves to be called a Syro-Armenian invention, for the only other example that has come to light is in the Rabbula Gospel. Carlo Cecchelli identified the somewhat damaged bird on fol. 5a as a fledgling eagle;[80] but since eagles are not known to hatch in chalices, and since the bird has the same pose and the same rosy breast as the Ējmiacin example, it must be identified as a pelican (fig. 14).

The symbolism comes directly out of the *Physiologus*, that textbook of Christian natural history whose origin in the East and translation into Armenian were mentioned above.[81] The pelican who revived her young with blood from her own side was a type of Christ in his self-sacrifice on the cross. "For ascending the cross and opening his side, he let flow blood and water for salvation and eternal life—blood, in reference to his 'taking the chalice and giving thanks,' but water in reference to the baptism of repentance."[82]

With this symbol we come full circle. While the first miniature gave pledge of the authenticity of Christ's priesthood—to be received through Zachariah and John the Baptist—the final miniature promises the fulfillment of his priesthood in his sacrifice of the cross. The Baptism therefore is here represented as the conferral on Christ of the authentic priesthood by which God ordained the salvation of the world. In his *Commentary on the Diatesseron* Ephrem the Syrian tells us:

> "The Spirit that rested on him in his baptism gave witness that he was the [true] shepherd; for through John he received prophecy and priesthood. Indeed he had already received the kingship through his birth, which was of the house of David; the priesthood of the house of Levi he received through a second birth, his baptism by a son of Aaron. Therefore whoever believes that he [the Word] had a second birth in this world must also believe that through this latter birth, the baptism of John, he received the priesthood of John."[83]

The *Teaching of St. Gregory* bears witness to the Armenian understanding of this doctrine:

> "Then came the great John, son of the high priest Zachariah. Here came the companion of the temple, not a stranger. Here was the heir and inhabitant of Sion, of the same ephod-wearing priesthood, wearing a tiara of the honor of the robes of holiness, bearer of tradition of the commandments, not a foreigner but suitably girded, the descendent of Moses and the branch of Aaron and the evan-

> gelist of Sion, worthy of anointing; he received the honor of the priesthood of his forefathers. . . . So all the grace of the tradition of the prophecy of the race of Israel, . . . the priesthood, with the kingship, was entrusted [to him] through the tribe of Levi. . . . And he gave the priesthood, the anointing, the prophecy, and the kingship to our Lord Jesus Christ."[84]

CONCLUSION

Our search to understand the four final miniatures of the Ējmiacin Gospel has repeatedly underscored the debt of early Armenian art to neighboring cultures. In some miniatures the iconography has close parallels to Syrian material, in other cases Roman and Byzantine sources are evident, and in still others sources in Asia must be credited. The closest parallels all reinforce a dating in the late sixth century or early seventh century. Yet the four miniatures are in no sense a collage or an eclectic assemblage of the leftovers of other cultures, for the material makes a strong and well-constructed statement with a coherence and purpose of its own. A single program embraces the four miniatures and that program is specifically early Armenian in its intellectual content. It is true that one might say there are varying degrees of "Armenian-ness" in the literary sources to which we have had recourse—some simply translated from other languages (such as the *Physiologus*), some paraphrased and rewritten for an Armenian audience (such as the *Armenian Infancy Gospel*), and some of entirely native Armenian composition (such as the *Teaching of St. Gregory*). In spite of this diversity, however, all of this material constitutes a genuine Armenian intellectual heritage, for translated material found its way into Armenian not by accident but by a process of selection that chose works for their peculiar relevance to the Armenian experience. The Ējmiacin miniatures are a unique document of early Armenian culture and a powerful witness to the maturity and accomplishment of that civilization prior to the Arab conquest.

1. For color reproductions of the four miniatures, see L. A. Durnovo, *Armenian Miniatures*, trans. I. J. Underwood (London, 1961), 33-39.

2. J. Strzygowski, *Das Etschmiadzin-Evangeliar: Beiträge zur Geschichte der armenischen, ravennatischen und syroägyptischen Kunst* (Vienna, 1891).

3. F. Macler, *L'Évangile arménien, édition phototypique du ms. 229 de la bibliotèque d'Etchmiadzin* (Paris, 1920), 12-13.

4. K. Weitzmann, *Die armenische Buchmalerei des 10. und beginnenden 11. Jahrhunderts, Ist Forsch*, IV (Bamberg, 1933), 3-14.

5. S. Der Nersessian, "The Date of the Initial Miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel," *ArtB*, 15 (1933), 1-34, cited hereafter as published in her collected works *Études byzantines et arméniennes* (Louvain, 1973), 535-58; "La Peinture arménienne au VIIe siècle et les miniatures de l'évangile d'Etchmiadzin," *Actes du XII Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, III, (Belgrade, 1964), 49-57, republished in *Études byzantines et arméniennes*, pp. 525-32.

6. The colophon specifies only Noravankʿ in Siwnikʿ, and there are in fact four sites called Noravankʿ ("New Monastery") in Siwnikʿ. A more recent study, however, has linked the patron of the manuscript, a priest named Lord Stepʿannos, to inscriptions at Noravankʿ in Błean. S. Barxudarean, "Ējmiacin Avetarani Grčʿutʿean Vayrə" [The Ējmiacin Gospel, The Place of Its Writing], *Banber Matenadarani*, 4 (1958), 43-59.

7. The fact that the miniatures had to lose most of their borders to fit the codes clearly dissociates them from the 6th-century ivory covers of the codex. In their present state

(measuring 340 x 255 mm) the two folios rank among the largest Early Christian codices, along with the Vienna Genesis (335 x 250 mm) and the Rabbula Gospel (336 x 266 mm). For comparative measurements, see K. Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination* (New York, 1977), 27-30.

8. For early Syriac illuminated manuscripts, see Jules Leroy, *Les Manuscrits syriaques à peintures* (Paris, 1964); for reproductions of early Armenian fresco painting, see Nikolai G. Kotʿanǰyan, *Cvet v Rannesrednevekovoi Živopisi Armenii* (Erevan, 1978). One should note in passing that Der Nersessian's stylistic argument would be stronger if there were more evidence; no other Armenian manuscripts of the period survive and there are no figurative frescoes from Syria to be introduced into the comparison. One should also point out that the facial types of the Ējmiacin miniatures are not a native Armenian invention but a local variant of a facial type common in monumental wall decoration of the Justinianic period.

9. The "classic Armenian system" shows up equally in the "renaissance" group of manuscripts that form the subject of Weitzmann's study cited above (n. 4), and the so-called "Melitene group" which arranges its illuminations longitudinally on the page. For a recent discussion of the Melitene group, see Bezalel Narkiss and Michael E. Stone, *Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1979), 36-40. For comprehensive treatment of Armenian manuscripts of the 11th century, see T. A. Izmailova, *Armjanskaja Miniatjura XI Veka* (Moscow, 1979).

10. On the scope of early Armenian translating activities, see I. Hausherr, "Arménienne (Spiritualité)," *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* I (Paris, 1932), 862-67; more recently, on translations from the Greek Fathers, see R. W. Thomson, "The Fathers in Early Armenian Literature," *Studia Patristica*, 12 (1975), 457-70. Of course beyond translated material, as Thomson indicates, Armenians were familiar with a wide range of Greek and Syriac material in their original languages.

11. *Čašocʿ Girkʿ* [Lectionary] (Jerusalem, 1873), see readings under nos. 1 and 371.

12. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 286, fol. 129ᵛ. F. Wormald, *The Miniatures in the Gospels of St. Augustine* (Cambridge, 1954), pl. 8.

13. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS Plut. I, 56, fol. 3b. C. Cecchelli, G. Furlani, and M. Salmi, *The Rabbula Gospels* (Olten, 1959).

14. For example, see Mt. Athos, Panteleimon MS 2, fol. 243ᵛ. *Treasures of Mount Athos*, II (Athens, 1974), pl. 292; or see Rome, Vat. Gr. MS 1613, p. 61. *Il Menologio di Basilio II* (Turin, 1907), pl. 61.

15. This aspect of angel iconography does not seem to have attracted attention before. See G. Stuhlfauth, *Die Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1897); G. Berefelt, *A Study on the Winged Angel, The Origin of a Motif* (Stockholm, 1968).

16. G. H. Forsyth and K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai, The Church and Fortress of Justinian* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1968), pls. 122, 123.

17. J. I. Smirnov, "Christianskija Mozaiki Kipra," *Viz-Vrem*, 4 (1897), 1-93; on the dating, see A. H. S. Megaw, "Early Byzantine Monuments in Cyprus in the Light of Recent Discoveries," *Akten des XI Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress* (Munich, 1958), 345-51; *idem*, "Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus: Metropolitan or Provincial?," *DOP*, 28 (1974), 74-76.

18. H. Peirèe and R. Tyler, *L'art byzantin* II (Paris, 1934, pl. 33. The peacock angel seems to disappear entirely in later Byzantine art, though it occurs occasionally in the West (for example, the Gellone Sacramentary, Paris, B.N.Lat. MS 1204, fol. 143ᵛ and the book of Kells, fol. 209ᵛ; it later enjoys a special popularity at the end of the Middle Ages in Northern Europe.

19. *De celesti hierarchia*, chap. 9, PG, III, 257-60.

20. Max Wellmann favors a Syro-Palestinian origin of the *Physiologus* in the 4th century, in *Der Physiologus, eine religionsgeschichtlich-naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung* (Leipzig, 1930). Franciscus Sbordone is responsible for sorting out the various redactions of the manuscript, in *Physiologi graeci singulas variarum aetatum recensione codicibus fere omnibus tunc primum excussis collatisque* (Milan, 1936). Nikolai Marr's study was not available, *Fisiolog, Armianogrusinskij isvod* (St. Petersburg, 1904). The Armenian translation, according to Sbordone, was made around the year 600 from the first recension. It must be pointed out that the chapter on the peacock was added in the second, "Byzantine" recension of the 5th or 6th century; it would have to be assumed in the present situation that the symbolism of the peacock-angel was imported with the image itself from the Byzantine world.

21. The author's translation from Sbordone, *Physiologi graeci*, pp. 204-5.

22. On the interpretation of these obscure passages, see Roland de Vaux, *Les Institutions de l'Ancien Testament*, II (Paris, 1960), 200-6, 268-70.

23. Monneret de Villard characterizes the *Armenian Infancy Gospel* as a work of "barocchismo turgido." He adds, "La prolissità verbosa di tutta la narrazione . . . ha l'andamento del racconto di un cantastorie." U. Monneret de Villard, *Le leggende orientali sui magi evangelici*, ST, CLXIII (Vatican City, 1952), 77.

24. French trans. and introduction Paul Peeters, *Évangiles Apocryphes*, II: *L'Évangile de l'Enfance* (Paris, 1914), i-liv, 69-286 (cited hereafter as *L'Évangile*). Text edition by Esayi Tayecʿi, *Ankanon Girkʿ Nor Ktakaranacʿ, Tʿangaran Haykakan Hin ew Nor Dprutʿeancʿ* [*Apocryphal Books of the New Testament, Treasury of Armenian Literature, Ancient and Modern*], II (Venice, 1898) (cited hereafter as *Ankanon Girkʿ*).

25. *L'Évangile*, xxix-l.

26. Protoevangelium, chap. 8, E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, I, trans. R. Wilson (Philadelphia, 1963), 378-79.

27. Armenian Infancy Gospel, chaps. IV, 8; V, 13; VII, 3-9; XIV, 1-8. *L'Évangile*, 89, 101, 114-19, 157-61. *Ankanon Girkʿ*, 13-14, 22, 31-34, 57-59.

28. R. Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom, A Study in Early Syriac Tradition* (Cambridge, 1975), 178-82.

29. Nicholas Adontz, Armenia in the Period of Justinian: The Political Conditions Based on the Naxarar System, ed. and trans. N. Garsoian (Lisbon, 1970), 286-88.

30. Mansi, XI, 957-59.

31. *Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church*, rev. 4th ed., trans. T. Nersoyan (New York, 1970), 15-16, 19.

32. Ephraem Syrus, *Commentaire de l'Évangile Concordant*, ed. and trans. L. LeLoir, CSCO, CXXXVII-CXXXVIII, *Scriptores Armeniaci*, I, II (Louvain, 1953-1954); citation from book I, chap. 6 in I, 6; date and history of the Armenian text discussed in the introduction.

33. *Protoevangelium*, chap. 11, Hennecke and Schneemelcher, I, 380; *Armenian Infancy Gospel*, chap. V, 2, *L'Évangile*, 90; *Ankanon Girkʿ*, 15.

34. To cite only Eastern examples, see M. A. R. Colledge, *The Art of Palmyra* (London, 1976), figs. 63, 64, 68, 74, 76, 83, and 85.

35. G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. J. Seligman (Greenwich, Conn., 1971), fig. 72. For the ivory, see

K. Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century* (New York, 1979), no. 448, where a Syro-Palestinian origin is proposed.

36. G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin, 1965), 125-36.

37. *Armenian Infancy Gospel*, V, 1-8, *L'Évangile*, 89-97; *Ankanon Girkʿ*, 14-19.

38. Cited in note 23 (hereafter *Le leggende*).

39. *Armenian Infancy Gospel*, V, 10; *L'Évangile*, 97; *Ankanon Girkʿ*, 19.

40. Schiller, *Iconography*, I, 94-114; figs. 245-70.

41. This was established in a brilliant article by Franz Cumont, "L'adoration des mages et l'art triomphal de Rome," *Atti della pontif. accad. rom. di archeologia*, ser. III, Memorie III (1932-33), 81-105. The theme has been further developed by A. Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936). The older work by H. Kehrer, *Die heiligen drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1908-1909), remains valuable for its review of literary sources, even though its typology of Early Christian iconography is inadequate. The more recent work of G. Vezin, *L'adoration et le cycle des mages dans l'art chrétien primitif, Études des influences orientales et grecques sur l'art chrétien* (Paris, 1950), is too naive in method to contribute anything worthwhile to the subject.

42. A. Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1958), pls. I, II, IV. One of the ivories is in the John Rylands University Library, Manchester; the other is in the British Museum. See W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (Mainz, 1952), figs. 127 and 133; K. Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, nos. 457 and 476.

43. Richard N. Frye, *Sasanian Remains from Qasri Abu Nasr: Seals, Sealings and Coins* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973).

44. Mary Boyce, *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practice* (London, 1969), 67.

45. On this painting and Mordecai dress, see Dalia Tawil, "The Purim Panel in Dura in the Light of Parthian and Sasanian Art," *JNES*, 38 (1979), 94-109. For a discussion of Parthian dress, see H. Seyrig, "Palmyra and the East," *JRS*, 40 (1950), 1-7; Colledge, *Art of Palmyra*, 96-104.

46. A. Grabar, "Études sur la tradition arménienne dans l'art mediéval," *REArm*, 13 (1966), 13-37.

47. *Armenian Infancy Gospel* chap. XI, 10-11; *L'Évangile*, 137-39; *Ankanon Girkʿ*, 46-47. On the history of the magi in their Zoroastrian context, see R. C. Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism* (New York, 1961), 161-69.

48. Monneret de Villard, *Le leggende*, 6-8, 14.

49. *Armenian Infancy Gospel*, XI, 1, *L'Évangile*, 131-32; *Ankanon Girkʿ*, 42-43. Further on, however, Baldasar is said to be king of Arabia, and Gaspar of India, chap. XI, 17, *L'Évangile*, 142-43; *Ankanon Girkʿ*, 49.

50. *The Teaching of Saint Gregory, An Early Armenian Catechism*, trans. R. W. Thomson (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), chaps. 395, 399-400, pp. 84-85.

51. On the pre-Christian religions of Armenia in general, see R. Grousset *Histoire de l'Arménie des Origines à 1071* (Paris, 1947), 117-20. The primary source for the 5th-century resistance to the reimposition of Zoroastrianism is Eliše, *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*. English trans. R. W. Thomson (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

52. For a sampling of the iconography, see Schiller, *Iconography*, figs. 245-70. The distinction of ages in the Magi at S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, is the result of modern restoration.

53. Armenian Infancy Gospel, chap. XI, 19-20; *L'Évangile*, 143-44; *Ankanon Girkʿ*, 50.

54. On the *Chronicle of Zuqnīn*, see Monneret de Villard, *Le leggende*, 27-49, 65-68; on the Marco Polo legend, see *idem*, 78-90.

55. L. Olschki, "The Wise Men of the East in Oriental Traditions," *Semitic and Oriental Studies Presented to W. Popper* (Berkeley, 1951), 375-95. On Zurvanism, see R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan, A Zoroastrian Dilemma* (Oxford, 1955), and his more recent views in *Dawn and Twilight*, 181-247.

56. *On the Sects*, II, *passim*. Crit. ed. and trans. L. Mariès and C. Mercier, *De Deo*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1959), PO, XXVII, pts. 3-4 III-IV (fasc. 136-37).

57. Eliše, *History of Vardan*, chap. 2, 83-84.

58. For the use of the *imago clipeata* in Roman art, see Johannes Bolten, *Die Imago Clipeata: Ein Beitrag zur Portrait- und Typengeschichte: Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*, XXI/1 (Paderborn, 1937); R. Winkes, *Clipeata Imago, Studien zu einer römischen Bildnisform* (Bonn, 1969). For its alleged adaptation in the Christian mandorla, see G. W. Elderkin, "Shield and Mandorla," *AJA*, 42 (1938), 227-36; O. Brendel, "Origin and Meaning of the Mandorla," *GBA*, 25 (1944), 5-24; A. Grabar, "Imago clipeata chrétienne," *L'art de la fin de l'antiquité et du moyen age*, I (Paris, 1968), 607-13.

59. S. Der Nersessian, *Études Byzantines et Arméniennes*, 529.

60. In the Rabbula Gospel, for example, Christ oversteps and reaches beyond the mandorla in the Ascension, while in the Dedication miniature he sits on a three-dimensional throne in front of the mandorla and other figures enter his space before the mandorla from either side. Cecchelli, *The Rabbula Gospels*, fols. 13b and 14a.

61. Kotʿanjyan, *Cvet*, pls. 26 and 42.

62. D. L. Snellgrove, ed., *The Image of the Buddha* (New York, 1978), pls. 64, 106, 127, 131, 136, 137.

63. *Ibid.*, pls. 136, 137.

64. Mario Bussagli, *Painting of Central Asia*, trans. L. Small (Geneva, 1963), 34, 38, 39, 70.

65. J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* (Berkeley, 1967), 253-58.

66. On the meaning of the aureole in Buddhist art, see A. C. Soper, "Aspects of Light Symbolism in Gandhāran Sculpture," *Artibus Asiae*, 12 (1949), 252-83, 314-30; 13 (1950), 68-85.

67. H. P. Laubscher, *Der Reliefschmuck des Galeriusbogens in Thessaloniki* (Berlin, 1975), pl. 60, 1.

68. For early examples, see Snellgrove, *The Image of the Buddha*, pls. 64, 74, 87, 126, 129, 130. On the meaning of the gesture, see E. D. Saunders, *Mudra: A Study of Symbolic Gestures in Japanese Buddhist Sculpture* (New York, 1960), 51-54.

69. K. Sarkissian, *The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church* (New York, 1965), esp. chaps. 5-7, pp. 148-213.

70. *Ibid.*, 200.

71. A. Muñoz, *Il codice purpureo di Rossano* (Rome, 1907), fol. 5r, pl.

72. *Čašocʿ Girkʿ*, no. 1.

73. J. Strzygowski, *Ikonographie der Taufe Christi, ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Christlichen Kunst* (Münich, 1885); Schiller, *Iconography*, I, 127-45.

74. Cf. note. 72.

75. For a recent discussion of these issues, see E. Dinkler, "Ikonographische Beobachtungen zum Christustyp," *Gesta*, 18 (1979), 77-87.

76. *Teaching of St. Gregory*, chap. 443, trans. Thomson, 99.

77. *Nouveau Larousse Illustré*, *s.v.* Pélican.

78. For example, see Moscow, Khludov Psalter, fol. 104, M. V. Scepnika, *Miniatjury Chludovskoi Psaltyri* (Moscow, 1977).

79. E. Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, I (Rome, 1968), 390-92.

80. Cecchelli, *The Rabbula Gospels*, 56.

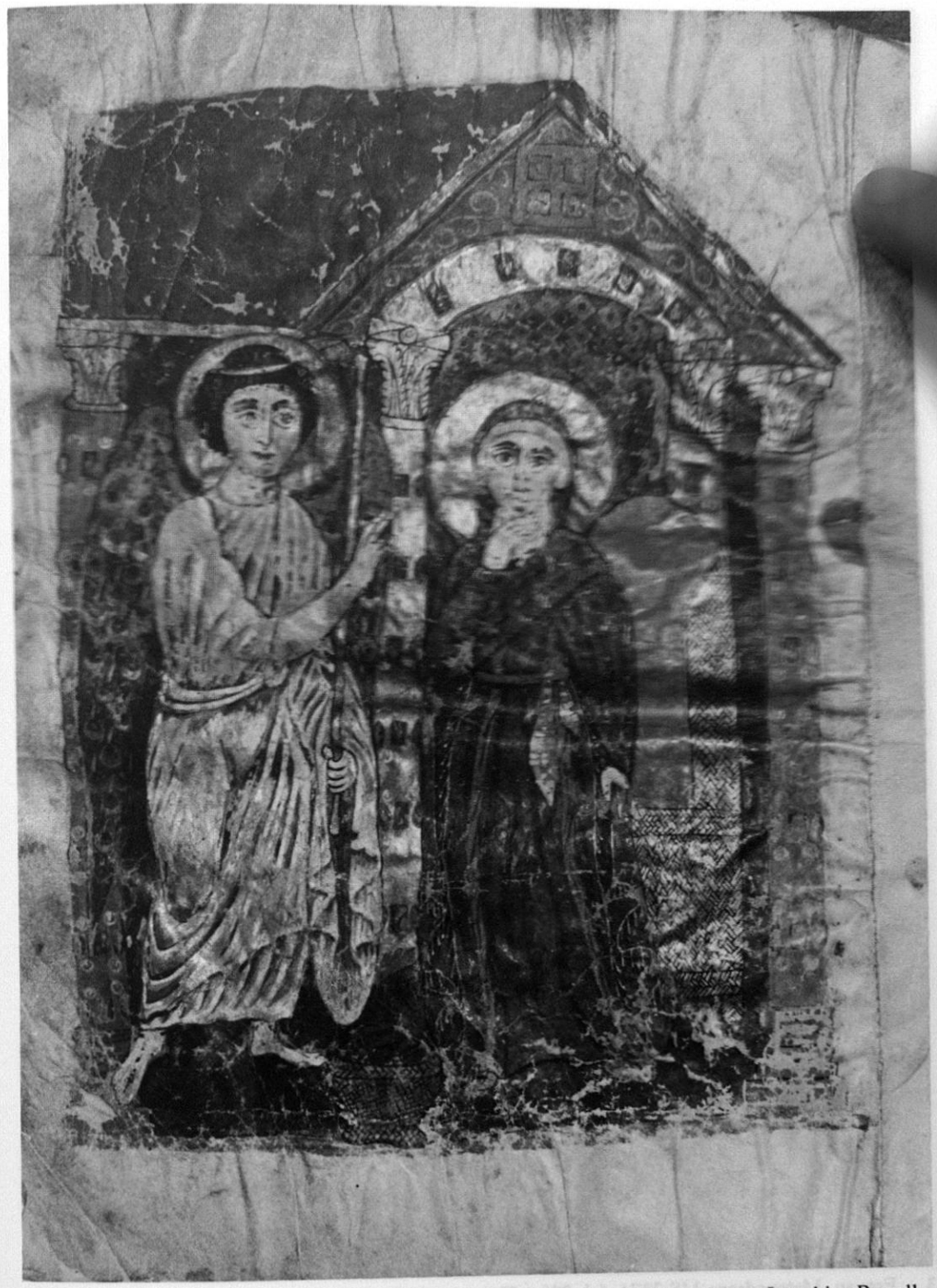
81. See note 20 above. The chapter on the pelican belongs to the first recension, which was translated into Armenian around 600.

82. Sbordone, *Physiologi graeci*, 18-19.

83. *Commentaire de l'Évangile Concordant*, IV, 3, p. 35.

84. *Teaching of St. Gregory*, chaps. 429-30, 432, trans. Thomson, 94-95.

Erevan, Matenadaran MS 2374, fol. 228^{r}, The Annunciation to Zachariah. Photo: Josephine Powell.



2. Erevan, Matenadaran MS 2374, fol. 228 ^{v}, The Annunciation to the Virgin. Photo: Josephine Powell.

3. Erevan, Matenadaran MS 2374, fol. 229 ^{r}, The Adoration of the Magi. Photo: Josephine Powell.

4. Erevan, Matenadaran MS 2374, fol. 229 ^{v}, The Baptism. Photo: Josephine Powell.

5. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana MS Plut. I, 56, fol. 3b, detail, The Annunciation to Zachariah, with Aaron

6. Cyprus, Kiti. Apse Mosaic, Gabriel. Photo: Byzantine Visual Rescurces, copyright Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

7. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana MS Plut. I, 56, fol. 4a, detail, The Annunciation to the Virgin

VII

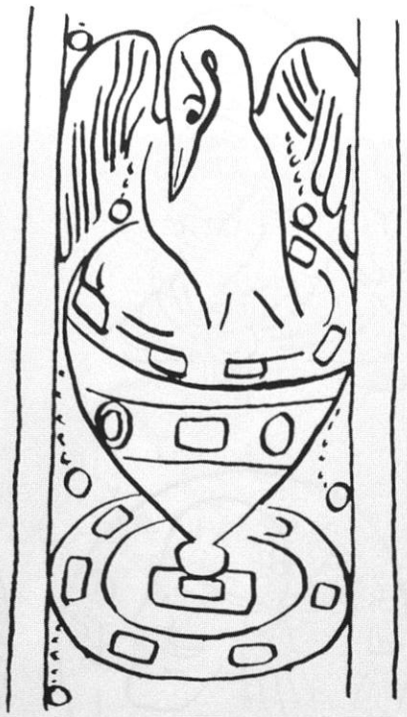
8. Pompeii, Macellum. Wallpainting, Ulysses and Penelope

9. Magus, Drawing detail from Figure 3

10. Magi on Sasanian Seals

11. British Museum. Coin of King Kaniṣka I, Buddha in Aureole

12. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana MS Plut. I, 56, fol. 4b, detail, The Baptism



13. Pelican in Chalice. Drawing detail from Figure 4

14. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana MS Plut. I, 56, fol. 5a, detail, Pelican in Chalice

The Epigrams of Leo Sacellarios and an Exegetical Approach to the Miniatures of Vat. Reg. Gr. 1 [1]

A full century has now elapsed since Kondakov, in his groundbreaking history of Byzantine illumination, studied the extraordinary miniatures of the Bible of Leo the Patrician and Sacellarios, Vat. Reg. Gr. 1 [2]. Because of the monastic donation indicated on one of the dedicatory pages (fol. 3r), Kondakov supposed it must have been produced in a monastic atelier. On this basis he contrasted the free and more dramatic style of the paintings to the more labored and refined style of the Paris Psalter, which is commonly assumed to represent the work of the imperial court atelier in the tenth century. This general distinction, which is fundamental to Kondakov's history of miniatures, between an official, imperial art and a monastic art, more popular and more inventive in its motivating spirit, has not stood the test of later scholarship, and in its application to the manuscript at hand it is no more than a gratuitous assumption. There is no reason why Leo Sacellarios, the chief financial minister of the Empire, should not have had access to imperial scriptoria in the production of his Bible, whatever its ultimate destination.

[1] For advice and encouragement in writing this paper I am much indebted to Hugo Buchthal, Professor Emeritus of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University; for assistance with the epigrams of Leo Sacellarios I am indebted to Professors Milton V. Anastos and Evangelos B. Petrouanias of The University of California in Los Angeles.

[2] Nikolai KONDAKOV, *Istorija visantijskogo iskusstva i ikonografii po miniatjuram grečeskich rukopisej* (Odessa, 1876), cited here in the translation by M. TRAVINSKI, *Histoire de l'art byzantin consideré principalement dans les miniatures* (Paris, 1886), II, pp. 39-49.

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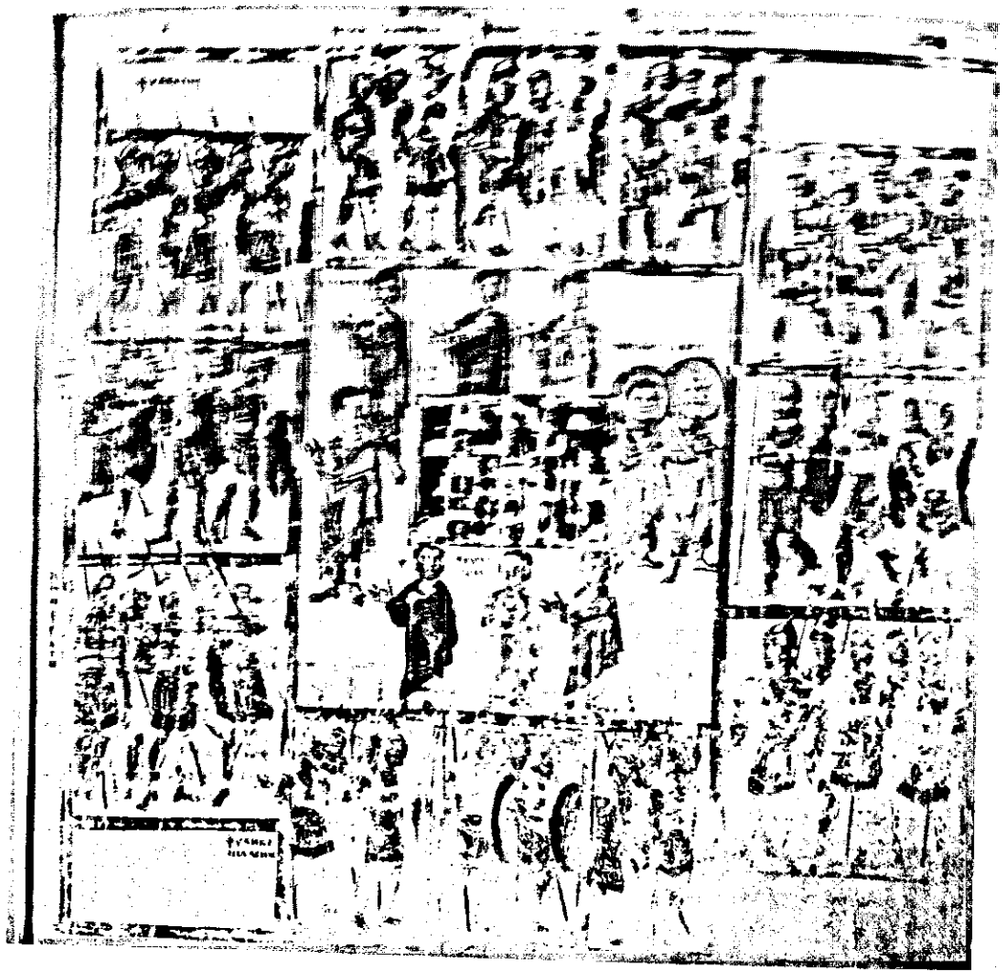

Foto Biblioteca Vaticana

Fig. 9 – The Camp of the Israelites, Vat. Gr. 699, fol. 52r.

IX

THE ANNUNCIATION AT THE WELL: A METAPHOR OF ARMENIAN MONOPHYSITISM*

Specifically Armenian developments in Christian iconography have not yet been systematically studied in any depth, for it is generally assumed that Armenian iconography departs from the accepted language of Byzantine iconography only occasionally and incidentally. The iconography of the Annunciation, however, sometimes makes a specifically Armenian statement that has interesting implications. A hitherto unpublished manuscript, University of California, Los Angeles, ms. Arm. 4, offers a good example (fig. 1). The background consists of a high wall with occasional windows, that recedes zig-zag to the left; above the wall, elements of city-scape appear including the Virgin's house on the right that breaks through the upper frame. In the foreground the angel makes a bold gesture of speech while the Virgin, occupied with spinning, bends slightly to give ear to his message. Overhead, the dove, encircled by an aureole, flies down along a path of light that consists of two beams pouring out of the semicircle of heaven at the top of the picture. Below, in the center, there is shown a well on which the Virgin has placed her pitcher. The well is framed with a shouldered arch beneath which two streams of water fall into a single basin. It is this well with its two jets of water that excites the viewer's curiosity. For unless one supposes that Armenia invented hot-and-cold water plumbing, the two spouts of water are a perfectly gratuitous detail, quite unnecessary to the depiction of the well. We lack colophon information about the place where U.C.L.A. ms. 4 was executed, but the painter, named Yovhannēs, is mentioned in an inscription on the front fly-leaf, and the scribe entered his name at the end

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T. Samuelian & M. Stone, eds. Medieval Armenian Culture. (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 6). Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983. pp. 343 to 356.

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of the gospel of Mark on p. 229, saying: "I beseech you to remember me, the unworthy scribe Vrt'anis, in the year 1643."[1]

The iconographic tradition of this Annunciation can be shown to be much older than the seventeenth century. Virtually identical with the iconography of the U.C.L.A. manuscript is the Annunciation in a very handsome gospel prepared for the chief vardapet of Glajor, Esayi Nč'ec'i, in the year 1323 (fig. 2).[2] The manuscript, Erevan, Matenadaran ms. 6289, is signed repeatedly by the painter T'oros Tarōnec'i. The background wall zig-zags off to the left with similar architecture behind it, and the dove descends on the same stream of light. The Virgin stands more erect but the two figures are otherwise rather similar, and between them we discover a little arched well in which two streams of water fall into a basin, with the Virgin's pitcher above. It cannot, and need not, be demonstrated that the artist of U.C.L.A. ms. 4 copied directly from Matenadaran ms. 6289, but it is obvious that he depended on the same iconographic tradition.

The appearance of this iconography in the work of T'oros Tarōnec'i can be followed fairly closely. The earliest work in which T'oros Tarōnec'i's signature appears is U.C.L.A. ms 1.[3] This gospel was already half finished when T'oros started work on it, and the Annunciation was one of the scenes that had been completed (fig. 3). Nevertheless, T'oros could not resist the impulse to improve on the work of his predecessors. He repainted the face, hands and mantle of the Virgin to make her better match his rendering of the Virgin elsewhere in the gospel, and he added the dove in sketchy white outline pouring down a stream of grace. The iconography includes a palm tree and a hexagonal well-head from which a single stream of water flows into an amphora. T'oros later repeated this iconography in a gospel that is totally his own work, Venice ms. 1917 dated 1307 (fig. 4).[4] The domes and gables echo the earlier miniature, and the Virgin repeats the same awkward gesture, holding her spindle to one side. The dove, again in sketchy white, descends from the hand of God; the tree has been somewhat reduced in scale and the well has been somewhat simplified and its stream of water omitted.

The next dated Annunciation in T'oros's oeuvre occurs in 1318 when he was called upon to illuminate an entire Bible for Esayi Nč'ec'i, Erevan, Matenadaran ms. 206.[5] Richly illuminated with preface miniatures for the books of the Old Testament and text miniatures within the four gospels, this bible is T'oros's finest and most consistent work. In the Annunciation it is clear that T'oros's style has matured, his figures have relaxed and acquired

a gentle grace, and his composition works together as a unit instead of as a collection of pieces (fig. 5). At the same time it is clear that T'oros is trying to integrate new iconographic sources into his painting. Perhaps taking his cue from Syrian painting, T'oros now places the dove against a disc of light (fig. 10);[6] on the other hand, the way he has bent the ray of divine grace to make it enter the Virgin's ear is a distinctly Western element, a literal translation of the theologian's speculation on "conceptio per aurem."[7] A wide variety of non-Armenian material appears to have been in circulation in Glajor in the early fourteenth century; this very manuscript includes as its front fly-leaf a page from a Latin gospel book. For the representation of the well, however, T'oros depends on no known foreign source. Beneath a shouldered arch a large amphora sits on a shelf; under the shelf a pair of spouts of water pour into a wide basin.

A similar iconography is repeated by T'oros three years later, in 1321, in a gospel book in Jerusalem, ms. 2360.[8] The dove appears on the disc of light following the ray toward the Virgin's ear; in the arched well T'oros has represented two spouts over a basin but he has carelessly forgotten to show the water flowing from the spouts (fig. 6). This manuscript is a work of tiny dimensions, a mere 11 cm. high, in which the paintings were executed without a great deal of care. Still the omission of the flowing water may tell us something about T'oros; namely, that he is probably not the inventor of this iconographic detail. Had he invented the well with the two spouts it is unlikely that he would have forgotten to show it correctly in this instance. Two years later he corrected his mistake when he painted Matenadaran 6289 with the water flowing, as we have seen (fig. 2). It should also be noted that in ms. 6289 he abandoned the Western iconography of "conceptio per aurem" and represented the rays spreading out as if to "overshadow" the Virgin, in the expression of the evangelist (Lk. 1:35).

Who was the inventor of this iconography cannot now be determined, but it is clear that it gained considerable popularity in Glajor in the fourteenth century. It appears in a somewhat different form—with a cinq-foil arch and a rather ornate basin—in Nor Jułа ms. 47 which was executed in Glajor around 1330 (fig. 7); and it appears with still other variations around the turn of the century in Matenadaran 6305 executed in nearby Tat'ew.[9]

To interpret properly this development of iconography in late Armenian painting one must really ask two questions: first, how has the

Armenian iconographer re-worked the tradition of the Annunciation at the Well; and secondly, why has he so re-worked it.

The Annunciation, marking the decisive moment when God entered human history through the Incarnation, is one of the commonest subjects in Christian art; nevertheless, the Annunciation at the Well is an unusual subject. This is all the more surprising in view of the wide circulation given to the subject in three interdependent extra-biblical accounts: the Protoevangelium of James, Pseudo-Matthew, and the Armenian Infancy Gospel.[10] According to these accounts the Virgin had gone to drawn water when she first heard the angel address her, "Rejoice, Virgin Mary." Though she did not actually see him, she was frightened at the voice and hastened home to return to her assigned work of spinning for the temple veil. The angel, however, pursued her in order to continue his message as narrated in Luke.

In Early Christian art the Annunciation at the Well appears only twice, once on a pilgrim's flask from the Holy Land and once on an ivory book cover.[11] In both instances the well is intepreted as a natural spring coming out of the ground; the Virgin kneels to draw water and she turns back to catch sight of the angel who appears behind her (fig. 8). In Middle Byzantine art the subject is equally rare, and when it appears the iconography is somewhat different.[12] Now the well is a man-made well-head; the Virgin may kneel or walk, and the angel still approaches from behind, but now he flies. This version of the iconography remained current through the Paleologan period and was used at the Kariye Camii in Constantinople (fig. 9).

In contrast to Byzantine or Western art, artists in Syria and Armenia show a special predilection for the Annunciation at the Well, and they develop in the course of the thirteenth century a new iconography for conveying the theme. This new iconography combines the Annunciation at the Well with the traditional "at-home" Annunciation. The Virgin is shown sitting or standing in front of her house, her spinning in her hand, but between her and the angel is shown the well and sometimes the tree. This version of the subject first appears in a very handsome Syriac manuscript in London, British Library, ms. add. 7170, fol. 12v, dating 1216-20,[13] and in the nearly contemporary twin manuscript in the Vatican (fig. 10).[14] It then occurs again in a Syriac ms. of 1226 and in one of ca. 1250[15] before it is employed in the famous Armenian Gospel of Queen Keran in 1272.[16] This

is clearly the tradition that stands behind the Annunciation as it appears in the first two manuscripts of T'oros Tarōnec'i—the U.C.L.A. ms. 1 and Venice ms. 1917 (figs. 3 and 4).

As we have seen, the painters of Glajor in the early fourteenth century re-worked this iconography by transforming the free-standing well-head into an arched well containing two spouts (figs. 2 and 5-7). On one level this may be seen as simply an Armenian appropriation of the iconographic vocabulary, for it should be observed that in medieval Armenian architecture the well actually took the shape of an arched enclosure.[17] The thirteenth century well in Tat'ew may be taken as typical: a slightly ogive vault shelters the place where water ran into a basin or trough. The artist's re-working of the well into an arched enclosure adds a note of local color to the iconography. But this does no explain the two spouts.

In thirteenth century Syrian and Armenian painting the preference for including the well must be taken as a Mariological metaphor. The Virgin from whom man's salvation was to spring was commonly referred to as the "well" or the "source" in homiletic literature and hymns.[18] When the well image was re-worked in Glajor, however, the metaphor seems to have shifted: the well is now Christological rather than Mariological. The evidence is circumstantial but considerable, for a mixing or commingling of liquids is one of the earliest analogies used to explain the union of the human and the divine nature in Christ. Thus Augustine described the mystery of the Incarnation in the term "mixtura": "In hac persona mixtura est Dei et hominis."[19] Similar uses of the terms mixtio, mixtura, krasis, synkrasis might be found in discussions of the hypostatic union in Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Apollinarius, Epiphanius, or Gregory Nazianzenus.[20]

The Council of Chalcedon, however, changed all of that. In their denunciation of Eutyches, who had spoken of two natures before the union and one nature after the union, the fathers of the council insisted on the perfect integrity of both the human and the divine nature after the union in Christ. They therefore rejected the earlier language of "mixture" proclaiming a union asynchytos, i.e. "unconfused in two natures."[21] The root meaning of the term asynchytos, "unconfused," is precisely "not-poured-together," being derived from syn-cheo, "I pour together, or mix." After the Council of Chalcedon Greek theologians generally tried to avoid all metaphors of mixture in speaking of the Incarnation; Armenian theologians, however, never seem to have abandoned the archaic terminology. Having

formally rejected Chalcedon at the Council of Dvin in 506/8, Armenian theologians continued to refer to the incarnation as a mixing or mingling of the two natures.[22] Thus, in the words of Nersēs Šnorhali, "The incorporeal Word commingled with the body, making it divine by the mixture (xaṙnmamb), but not undergoing any change or alteration in this union."[23] Further, when the Synod of Hromkla tried to formulate the Armenian position for the benefit of the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenus, they fell back on the same expression: "The body commingled (xaṙnec'aw) with the divine nature, without at the same time being estranged from its natural essence."[24] This pre-Chalcedonian, not to say anti-Chalcedonian, formula was evidently a line of continuity in Armenian theology that was important to maintain.

It has not yet been possible to trace this metaphor of mixing into the theological literature of the school of Glajor where our iconography first appears. Esayi Nč'ec'i, the principal luminary of that school, does not seem to have been wedded to any rigid formula for expressing the Armenian position on the natures in Christ; he goes so far as to say that one could with orthodoxy speak either of two natures or of one nature in Christ, if one qualified the statement properly.[25] Yet it is clear from the pressures exerted by the Dominican Unitores on the church in Greater Armenia that the Chalcedonian issue was very much on peoples' minds in the first decades of the fourteenth century. Indeed it was the only substantive dogmatic issue that seemed to stand between the Armenian and the Roman churches, the other issues being questions of rite and calendar.[26] It is significant, then, that at precisely this time an iconography appears to give expression to the ancient metaphor of the mixing of natures in Christ.

While the iconography of the Annunciation with two jets of water in the well remains a minor theme in the overall development of Armenian art, it is a theme worth noting. Dogmas are not generally susceptible to translation into images; the issues are far too subtle and abstract. Efforts to represent the equality of Persons in the Trinity by images of three bearded men or a three-headed man only succeed in making the mystery ridiculous or monstrous. The suitability of the Armenian image is therefore all the more remarkable. The symbol is placed in parallel to the narrative image: at that moment in which the human nature of Christ was fused with the divine nature, when the Virgin accepted the message of the angel, the nature of the union is expressed in the iconography of the well. It is a specifically Armenian image invented to express a specifically Armenian understanding of

the mystery of the Incarnation.

NOTES

*For their kindness in providing me with photographs of material in their care I would like to thank Archbishop Norayr Bogharian of the Armenian Patriarchate of Sts. James, Jerusalem, Father Nersēs Nersēssian of the Biblioteca S. Lazzaro, Venice, and Mr. Babgen Choukasezian of the Matenadaran, Erevan. For the photograph of figure 7 I am indebted to A. Mekhitarian of Brussels.

[1]U.C.L.A. Arm. ms. 4 was purchased by Dr. Caro Minasian from one Grigor Davitian on 27 July 1950, prior to which it is said to have belonged to the family of Hoja Petros Veligian. Executed on paper and measuring 186 x 250 mm., it includes miniatures of the four evangelists and the following six subjects from the life of Christ: the Entry into Jerusalem, the Crucifixion, the Annunciation, the Baptism, the Presentation in the Temple, and the Transfiguration. The canon tables are missing and the scenes from the Life of Christ are in scrambled order at the beginning of the book; the style, however, confirms that they belong to the book and were executed by the same painter as the evangelists. The catalogue of this and the other Armenian mss. in the U.C.L.A. Collection will be published shortly by Avedis K. Sanjian.

[2]This ms. is discussed by A. N. Avetisyan, Haykakan Manrankarč'ut'yan Glajori Dproc'ē (Erevan, 1971), pp. 124-35; the Annunciation is published in fig. 41.

[3]The Second Storm at Sea (p. 227) and the Ascension (p. 453) are signed by an artist named T'oros who, on the grounds of style, can be shown to be T'oros Tarōnec'i. The manuscript will be published by T. F. Mathews and A. K. Sanjian in Armenian Gospel Iconography: The Glajor Gospel of U.C.L.A.

[4]Sirarpie Der Nersessian, Manuscrits arméniens illustrés des 12e, 13e et 14e siècles de la Bibliothèque des Pères, Mekhitaristes de Venise (Paris, 1937) 1.112-36; 2, fig. 102.

[5]This ms. is discussed in Avetisyan, Haykakan Manrankarč'ut'yan

Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit

Glanzi, 90-91.

[6]The dove against a halo of light appears in Syrian mss. of the second decade of the thirteenth century, Vatican Syr. 559, fol. 8v, and British Library 7170, fol. 15 (cf. Jules Leroy, Manuscrits syriaques à peintures [Paris, 1964], pl. 73, 3 and 4. By the end of the century it was taken up in Cilician painting as in Vienna, ms. 278, fol. 16] (Heide and Helmut Buschhausen, Die illuminierten armenischen Handschriften der Mechitaristen-Congregation in Wien [Wien, 1976], fig. 82).

[7]Gertrude Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art, trans. J. Seligman [illegible] 1971), [illegible]. [illegible] Paul Peeters, Évangiles Apocryphes, II: L'Évangile de l'Enfance (Paris, 1914) 37. Nevertheless it is in the West that this motif is first expressed in iconography.

[8]Bezalel Narkiss and Michael E. Stone, Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem (Jerusalem, 1979) 76, 150.

[9]L. A. Dournovo and R. G. Drampyan, Haykakan Manrankarčutyun (Erevan, 1967), fig. 62. [Text in Armenian, Russian, and French.]

[10]The Protoevangelium of James, chap. 11 in Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher, New Testament Apocrypha (trans. R. McL. Wilson; Philadelphia, 1963) 380; The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, chap. 9 in The Ante-Nicene Fathers 8 (New York, 1926) 272; The Armenian Infancy Gospel, chap. 5, Tayec'i, Ankanon Girk' 14; cp. Peeters, Évangiles Apocryphes, 2.89-90.

[11]For the pilgrim's flask see André Grabar, Ampoulles de Terre Sainte (Paris, 1958), pl. 31.

[12]For the Middle Byzantine version see Vat. Gr. 1162, fol. 117v, C. Stornajolo, Miniature delle omilie di Giacomo monaco (rome, 1910), pl. 50.

[13]Leroy, Manuscrits syriaques, pl. 73, 3.

[14]G. de Jerphanion, Les miniatures du manuscrit syriaque no. 559 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane (Vatican City, 1940), pl. III, 3; Leroy, Manuscrits syriaques, pl. 73, 4.

[15]Midyat, Syro-orthodox Episcopacy, Evangelary, fol. 14v, and Deir es-Za'faran, Mar Hanania, Evangelary, fol. 22. J. Leroy, Manuscrits syriaques, pl. 105, 1 and 127, 1.

[16]Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate of St. James, ms. 2563, fol. 184. Narkiss and Stone, Armenian Art, 63-64, 149, but without illustration of the Annunciation.

[17]O. X. Xalpaxčjan, Graždanskoe Zod'estvo Armenii (Moscow, 1971) 228-39.

[18]G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon (Oxford, 1961) s.v. pēgē and phrear.

[19]Augustine, Epist. 137, 11 (PL 33, 520).

[20]See the citations given by Pascal Tekeyan, Controverses christologiques en Arméno-Cilicie dans la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle (1165-1198) (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 124; Rome, 1939) 86, n. 1. Further see citations in G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon, s.v. krasis and synkrasis.

[21]J. D. Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, VII, 115.

[22]For the Armenian reaction to Chalcedon see Karekin Sarkissian, The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church (New York, 1965).

[23]Nersēs Šnorhali, Encyclical Letter as cited by Tekeyan, Controverses christologiques, 86, from the edition of Constantinople, 1825, 57.

[24]Synod of Hřomkla as cited by Tekeyan, Controverses christologiques, 91, from the edition of Constantinople, 1825, 177.

[25]Letter of Esayi Nč'ec'i to Tēr Matt'ēos (dated 1321), cited by M. A. van den Oudenrijn, "Uniteurs et Dominicains d'Armenie," Oriens Christianus 40 (1956) 105-106.

[26]Ibid., 94-112.

Figure 1. Los Angeles, University of California, Arm. ms. 4, p. 10. The Annunciation by the painter Yovhannēs, 1643.

Figure 2. Erevan, Matenadaran, ms. 6289, fol. 143. The Annunciation by the painter T'oros Tarōnec'i, 1323.

Figure 3. Los Angeles, University of California, Arm. ms. 1, p. 305. The Annunciation, retouched by T'oros Tarōnec'i, before 1307.

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Figure 4. Venice, Biblioteca S. Lazzaro, ms. 1917, fol. 153. The Annunciation by T'oros Tarōnec'i, 1307.

Figure 5. Erevan, Matenadaran, ms. 206, fol. 474v. The Annunciation by T'oros Tarōnec'i, 1318.

Figure 6. Jerusalem, Patriarchate of St. James, ms. 2360, fol. 149. The Annunciation by T'oros Tarōnec'i, 1321.

Figure 7. Nor Jułfa, ms. 47, fol. 1v. The Annunciation, 1330.

Figure 8. Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, ms. lat. 9384, ivory cover, detail. The Annunciation at the Well.

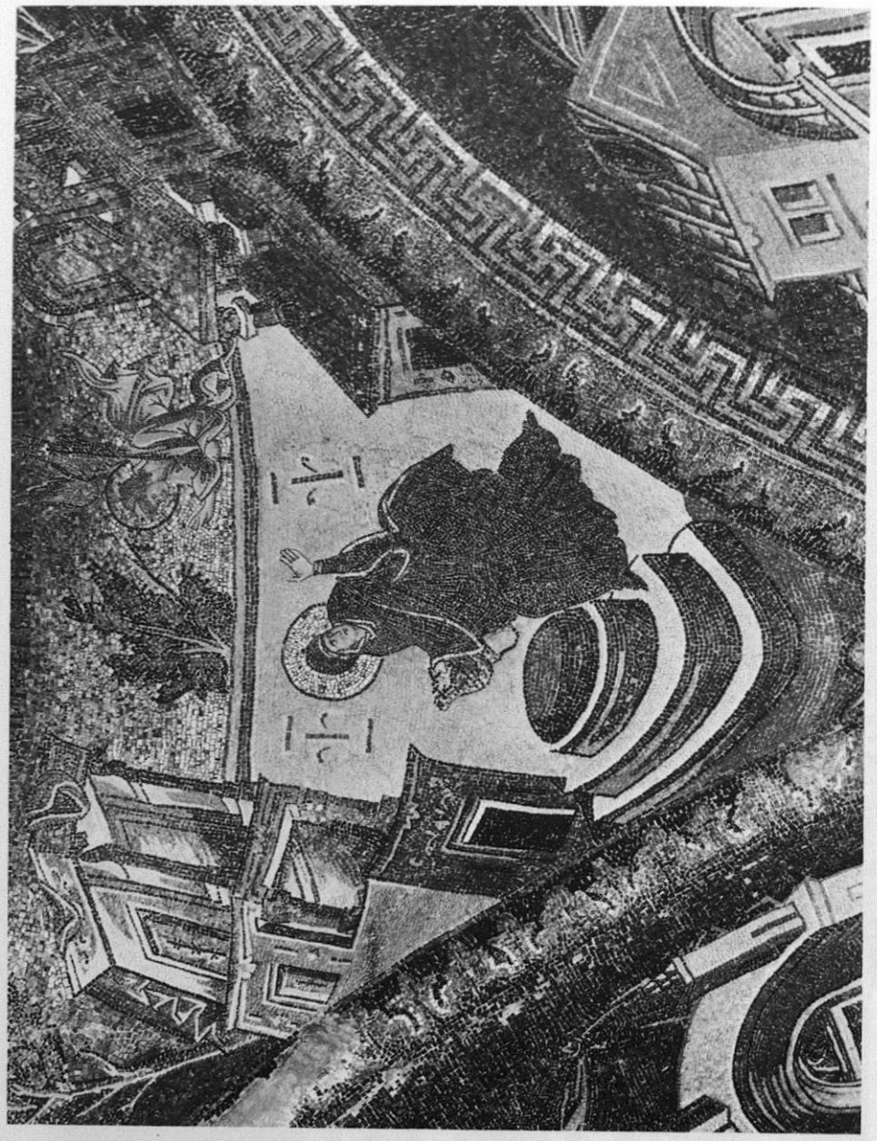

Figure 9. Istanbul, Kariye Camii, mosaic of the inner narthex. The Annunciation at the Well. (Courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Center for Byzantine Studies, Washington, D.C.)

Figure 10. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, ms. syr. 559, fol. 8v. The Annunciation at the Well, 1219-20. (From de Jerphanion.)

S. Vitale the Lamb of God is not framed by a zodiac but set against the "fixed" stars where he "wanders not," as Tatian put it. Beyond this, the cosmological symbolism of the vault is restricted to an innocuous allusion to the four seasons, the marking of which is the only purpose of celestial signs, according to Basil. But in the mature classic system of Byzantine dome decoration even these meager references to the physical heavens disappear. An unchanging spiritual universe ruled by the Creator of all things has replaced the deceptive appearance of the ever-changing material heavens.

NOTES

1. Karl Lehmann, "The Dome of Heaven," *Art Bulletin* 27 (1945):1–27, reprinted in W. Eugene Kleinbauer, *Modern Perspectives in Western Art History* (New York: 1971), pp. 228–270.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

5. Although it is now out of date, the standard work on the Middle Byzantine system is Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (London: 1948).

6. Lehmann, 5–7, 9, 15, 16, 18.

7. On the term see Carmelo Capizzi, *Pantokrator: Saggio d'esegesi letterario-iconografica*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 170 (Rome: 1964); on the iconographic subject see Jane Timken Matthews, *The Pantokrator: Title and Image*, Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1976.

8. Lehmann, 2, 22.

9. Henry G. Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: 1968), s.v. For the Christian use of the term, see G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: 1961), s.v.

10. For a sampling on the subject, one might consult, from Syria, Tatian (cf. n. 12 below) and the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* X.1–12, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Buffalo: 1884–1886), VIII, pp. 192–196. From Alexandria, consult Origen, *On Matthew* XIII.6, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, IX, pp. 478–479. From Cappadocia, see Basil, as in n. 11 below. From the Latin West see Tertullian, *On Idolatry* IX, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, III, pp. 65–66; also Augustine, *City of God* V.1–10, and *On Christian Doctrine* II.20–24, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (New York: 1886–1900), II, pp. 84–93, 545–548.

11. Basil, *Hexaemeron* homily VI.7, trans. A. C. Way, *Exegetical Homilies, the Fathers of the Church*, vol. 46 (Washington: 1963), pp. 94–95.

12. Tatian, *Oration to the Greeks* 9, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, II, p. 69.

13. For a recent discussion of Basil's place in the development of a Christian cosmology see Cyril Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (New York: 1980), pp. 166–176. For Basil's interpretation of the creation of the sun and moon see *Hexaemeron* homilies V.1 and VI.1–4, pp. 57–60, 83–89; for the stars see homily VI.5–11, pp. 99–103; for the shape of the universe see homily III.1–10, pp. 37–54.

14. On astrology in Antiquity see E. Riess, "Astrologie," in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart: 1896, II, pp. 1802–1828. See also Proclus's own introduction to his *Tetrabiblos*, trans. W. G. Wallace (Cambridge, Mass.: Loeb Classical Library, 1940).

The Sequel to Nicaea II in Byzantine Church Decoration

In February of this year New Yorkers were treated to a rather extraordinary exhibition at the New Museum of Contemporary Art. Called "Living Paintings" by their creator Stephen Taylor Woodrow, the three paintings each contained a living person—one of them the artist himself—hanging in a harness in the painting and interacting with the viewers. The "person-paintings" shook hands with the viewers, scowled, spat, and threw things at them, but never smiled or spoke. Besides demonstrating the god-like endurance of the men who hung there for seven hours at a stretch, the "Living Paintings" demonstrated the pressing need of contemporary artists to try to expand the ways in which paintings and viewer interact, and to try to jar the viewer out of his passive spectator role into a true participation and involvement with the painting. Viewers' participation and involvement is the subject of this paper.

In the period after Iconoclasm there came into existence a new artistic phenomenon which was much more viewer-involving than the "Living Paintings": a domed church of domestic scale with a new program of frescos or mosaics that we call the Middle Byzantine system of decoration. Several architectural designs were used in this system but they all have in common the flower-like symmetrical disposition of elements around the raised dome; to this central unit are added the sanctuary to the east and the narthex, or forechurch, to the west. Considerable variety also exists in the program of decoration but the common elements are distinctive. It is to the eternal credit of Otto Demus that he recognized and described these elements some forty years ago and opened the discussion of their interpretation.[1] The Middle Byzantine system, as Demus saw, is comprised of three kinds of images: (1) single images of saints, that is the sanctoral cycle of icons; (2) narrative images from the life of Christ, commonly misnamed the festival cycle; and (3) what Demus labeled, also mistakenly I believe, "dogmatic" images, namely the Virgin in the apse, the Pantokrator in the dome, and associated figures. The question is whether we can get beyond the initial interpretation formulated by Demus.

I would like to suggest that there are two avenues that have not yet been sufficiently explored, namely the Second Council of Nicaea and the Divine Liturgy. In the West the Second Council of Nicaea has always been the least understood of the seven ecumenical councils, but to the Orthodox church it is basic to Christian worship.[2] While the fathers of the Council never expressly addressed the issue of how a church ought to be decorated, or what images ought to be in what part of the building, they gathered a very rich collection of argument and

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anecdote about how different kinds of images were used and this may offer us some clues for the interpretation of the Middle Byzantine decorative program. Other clues can be found in the study of the Divine Liturgy. Not enough attention has been given to how the images functioned in worship, at what points in the ceremony they were invoked, and how they would have affected the behavior and attitude of the participants.

From his analysis of the Middle Byzantine program Demus concluded that its "authors seem to have had as their main aim to represent the central formula of Byzantine theology, the Christological dogma." We are dealing, he said, with an "official, hieratic art" the intention of which he interpreted as theological and intellectual. "The individual pictures," he wrote, "do not aim at evoking the emotions of pity, fear or hope; any such appeal would have been felt as all too human, too theatrical, and out of tune with the tenor of religious assurance which pervades the ensembles and leaves no room for spiritual and moral problems."[3] My own conclusion is somewhat different. If one looks at how the images were used one discovers a great deal of allowance for personal, emotional involvement; the images were enormously gripping, whether terrifying or tender, inspiring or pathetic; they were the exact opposite of our usual caricature of Byzantine art as abstract and remote—they were intimate and intense. This requires that we suspend our sophisticated judgments, biased as they are by centuries of Western visual training, and regard the phenomenon in a fresh fashion, asking the Byzantines instead to speak for themselves about how they reacted to the images.

To students of theology, however, I would like to suggest that this investigation has another dimension to it. While it may seem entirely appropriate for an art historian to appeal to the seventh ecumenical council for an explanation of the meaning of Middle Byzantine imagery, the theologian can invert the process and appeal to the Middle Byzantine church decoration for an explanation of what the council meant. This may seem like a curious inversion of cause-effect chronology, but there is a sense in which the sequel can be called the cause of the council. For the council did not develop the Byzantine cult of images but was itself a by-product of the same autonomous, popular, and unwritten tradition of images that had its origins in Early Christian times and saw its fruition in the Middle Byzantine period.[4] There is some justification, therefore in appealing to this same unwritten, visual tradition to explain the meaning of the definition of Nicaea II. The Middle Byzantine system of church decoration may be regarded as the living sequel that takes us beyond the prolix argumentation of the council to illustrate the extraordinary potential of the council's definition.

I

The first and most basic component of the Middle Byzantine program is the series of individual images of saints, the sanctoral cycle. All around the interior of the church, but especially in the lower zones where one can touch them, stand icons of individual saints. These icons are often life-size, full-length figures, which physically surround the worshippers in the nave and gaze out at them with solemn intensity. The number and arrangement differs from church to church, but if there are enough of them they are grouped by class; within the sanctuary are placed holy celebrants of the liturgy, while martyrs, military saints or monks might be in groups eleswhere in the nave or the narthex.[6]

The manner in which these icons are used has not changed much in Orthodox practice. They are the first focus of the worshipper's attention upon entering the church in a kind of preliturgy. What one does first upon entering the church is important, because it establishes one's relationship to the place. In most contemporary Protestant traditions entering the church is little different from entering a concert or lecture hall: one simply takes a seat with modesty and decorum. But in the Orthodox church one begins by making a circuit of the saints images to venerate them—not necessarily all of them, but those to which one has some personal attachment. The veneration is first of all physical. The definition of Nicaea II uses two terms to describe it, *aspasmos* and *proskynēsis*, and both of these are external acts of homage. *Proskynēsis*, literally means prostration in doggy fashion on all fours touching one's head to the floor before the icon.[7] More generally in contemporary usage this prostration is abbreviated to a deep bow in which one touches the pavement with one's right hand and makes the sign of the cross. *Aspasmos*, on the other hand, is literally a physical greeting by a kiss or a hug; in practice it is not easy to hug an icon on the wall and the Orthodox are usually satisfied with kissing or touching the icon.[8] The physical state of many icons—worn down by being touched and kissed—is vivid testimony of this practice. The council also affirms the value of the time-honored practice of placing candles in front of images (XIII, 377), and further it cites with approval stories of miraculous cures effected through physical contact with icons, including the story of a woman who scraped plaster from an icon, mixed it in water and drank it, to her own improved health (XII, 68-69).

This physical involvement with the image is essential to icon worship and indeed is very much part of the theology of icons. While the fathers were always anxious to say that they had no intention of venerating wood and pigment, the veneration of images was at the same time the ultimate homage one could pay to matter, and it was regarded as an affirmation of the mystery of Incarnation. In the Incarnation, God had entered human space and time and became touchable, palpable, passible, circumscribable, and therefore capable of representation in an icon. As John Damascene argued, "In former times God, who is without form or body, could never be depicted. But now when God is seen in the flesh conversing with men, I make an image of the God whom I see. I do not worship matter; I worship the Creator of matter who became matter for my sake, who willed to take his abode in matter; who worked out my salvation through matter. . . . God's body is God because it is joined to his person by a union which shall never pass away. . . . Because of this I salute all remaining matter with reverence, because God has filled it with his grace and power. Through it my salvation has come to me."[9]

The icons, then, are not simply representations; they contain the power of the saint, somewhat the way the body of Christ contained his Divinity. In the deliberations of the council John the Vicar of the orient pronounced icons to be "of equal *power* with the Gospel and the Holy Cross" (XII, 40), and S. Procopius on seeing a miraculous icon is quoted as saying, "I recognized that there was some sort of *power* in it" (XIII, 89). Making the circuit of images in the church in his pre-liturgy, the faithful makes physical contact with the saints represented there in order to share their power. At the end of the fourth session the council says that the purpose of the icon is not only that we be reminded of the saint represented but may be led "to a participation in his holiness" (XIII, 132). Contact sanctifies.

The involvement, however, is much more than physical. Above all external gestures, the veneration of an icon is a visual experience. The council has several verbs to describe this: *horaō*, "I see"; theaomai, "I gaze with awe, behold"; *theōreō*, "I contemplate"; *prosechō*, "I pay attention to"; *atenizō*, "I stare at" (cf. respectively: XIII, 377, 168, 92, 88.) It is not sufficient to look on icons the way one looks on paintings in a gallery, where the average viewer spends about six seconds per painting. One has to enter into a communication with the saint. There is a marvelous little quatrain by the sixth century poet Agathias that describes the interaction of the viewer with an icon of the archangel Michael: "The mortal man who beholds the image directs his mind to a higher contemplation. His veneration is no longer distracted; engraving within himself the archangel's traits, he trembles as if he were in the latter's presence. The eyes encourage deep thoughts, and art is able by means of colors to ferry over the prayers of the mind (to the archangel)."[10]

The first step of the visual process is concentration, and the bull's-eye of the icon's halo has a kind of hypnotic effect that helps to focus attention. One ought to stare at the icon until the image is engraved inside oneself; when one has so assimilated the image, then one "trembles" with true telecommunication * apparatus; it transmits the saint's presence to us and at the same time it transmits our aspirations

* Insert after the word true: religious awe, having made contact with the presence of the saint. At that point, according to the poet, the icon acts as a true...

to him: the colors can "ferry over the prayers of the mind." The Orthodox never regarded icons as remote and intellectual images; one was expected to be personally and emotionally involved in the viewing. Indeed the Second Council of Nicaea saw this emotional involvement with the image as the real purpose of icons; the definition says explicitly: "the more often the saints are seen in their pictorial representations, the more the beholder is *excited* to recall and *yearn for* the one represented" (XIII, 377). One was supposed to fall in love with these saints.

If all this is happening in the pre-liturgical experience of the icons, what happens when the liturgy finally gets under way? In the first visible action of the Divine Liturgy the deacon takes up the incense and censes the altar. Then emerging from the north door of the icon-screen he begins making his own circuit of the icons. He begins with the icons of Christ and the Mother-of-God either side of the center door, then goes to the other icons on the icon-screen and then proceeds to the icons all around the church, ofering a few swings of fragrant homage before each. Finally, and this is the most telling gesture of this rite, before returning to the sanctuary the deacon turns and incenses the congregation gathered in the nave. Suddenly the participant realizes that he is no mere spectator; he has been made equal to the icons by being given the same honor they receive; he has been included in the communion of saints who are gathered around him.

In the sanctoral cycle the sum is greater than its parts; they are not a collection of individual saints but the communion of saints whose company one desires to enter. The Divine Liturgy proceeds under the assumption that in fact the faithful have entered the saints' company. Thus the ancient exclamation that accompanies the First Entrance, that is the carrying up of the Gospel, refers to the participants as saints: "Blessed is the entrance of thy saints always, now and ever and unto ages of ages." And the most solemn moment of communion is announced with the exclamation: "Holy things to the holy," that is to the saints, for in Greek holy and saint are the same word.

II

Above the sanctoral cycle, in the vaults that lead the eye by degrees upward into the dome, a series of narrative subjects from the life of Christ decorated the middle Byzantine church. These scenes usually read in a circle around the interior, or sometimes in a couple circles—one above the other, or one around the nave and another around the narthex. The sequence begins with the Annunciation, which is placed close to the sanctuary or embracing the arched opening of the sanctuary; it then follows to the right clockwise with a variable number of scenes from six to eighteen or twenty. Narrative scenes are not explicitly cultic, and indeed they are generally too far removed from the worshipper for any physical contact; for this reason they were not directly involved in the iconoclast controversy, the main debate of which was the use of images in worship. They are nevertheless referred to in several suggestive contexts in the Council. Before analyzing these references, we must confront Demus' interpretation which has for forty years provided a somewhat skewed framework for discussions of this cycle.

Demus accepted Millet's old name of "festival cycle" for these images and alleged a connection to the calendar of feasts of the liturgical year.[11] According to Demus, "the church is an 'image' of the festival cycle" as laid down in the liturgy, and the icons are arranged in accordance with the liturgical sequence of the ecclesiastical festivals. The arrangement, he contends, is frequently guided by the order of the Pericopes, especially as regards the scenes connected with Easter. The relationship between the individual scenes has regard not to the 'historical' time of the simple narrative but to the 'symbolic' time of the liturgical cycle."[12] But the narrative scenes are decisively non-calendric in order.[13] As anyone knows who has followed the Orthodox church year, the calendar begins on the the first of September with St. Simeon Stylites and the first feast of the year is not the Annunciation but the Birth of the Virgin on September 8th. The Annunciation is placed on March 25th because of course the Virgin had to carry nine months to deliver on December 25th.[14] The place of the Annunciation at the beginning of the narrative is not due to its place in the liturgical year but to its place in the narrative order in the Gospels. The same must be said of the rest of the cycle. In narrative sequence the Presentation belongs after the Nativity and before Christ's Baptism; in the liturgical sequence the Baptism is celebrated on January 6th, the Presentation on February 2nd. The liturgical feast of the Transfiguration is also quite out of narrative order on August 6th, while representations of the scene usually place it in Gospel sequence. The fact that the scenes of the Easter events follow the order of the liturgical pericopes is due to the fact that the pericopes for Holy Week follow the narrative order of the events. On the other hand, when narrative order is disturbed the scenes are not rearranged to conform to the calendar but for other reasons.

Not only is the order of the scenes not liturgical, but the selection of the subjects too has little to do with their importance in the church calendar, and there is no justification for calling them "feasts." The Betrayal of Judas, for example, is in no way a "feast" in the liturgical calendar; it is one of the most poignant moments in the Passion narrative which is read on Holy Thursday, but it was never regarded as an event worth "celebrating."[15] Neither is the Washing of the Feet a "feast;" it is a liturgical ceremony placed before the liturgy of the mass on Holy Thursday. So too the Deposition and Burial are moments of high drama in the narrative of Christ's death, but they are not "feasts" in the church calendar. Significantly some of the important feasts of the liturgical calendar, such as the Feast of Orthodoxy and the Exaltation of the Cross, are missing from the cycle. The conclusion is inevitable; we are not dealing with a cycle of liturgical festivals but simply a narrative set of the life of Christ.

A second line of interpretation suggested by Demus is even less tenable, and that is the topographical interpretation. Besides being a chronology of the church year Demus imagines that the narrative scenes represent the topography of the Holy Land. "The building is conceived as the image of (and so as magically identical with) the places sanctified by Christ's earthly life. This affords the possibility of very detailed topographical hermeneutics, by means of which every part of the church is identified with some place in the Holy Land. The faithful who gaze at the cycle of images can make a symbolic pilgrimage to the Holy Land by simply contemplating the images in their local church."[16] But I know of no source that would establish connections of this kind, making for example the corner where the Baptism is shown into a commemorative site corresponding to the Jordan, or the Transfiguration niche into a commemoration of Mount Thabor. When the Byzantine commentators associate parts of the church with given locations in the Holy Land they are always talking about the sanctuary which represents all the Holy Land at once—the cave of Bethlehem, the place of the Last Supper, the Mount of Calvary, the Tomb of Christ, and the Mount of the Ascension."

The narrative set, then, is not calendric nor topographical. While the Second Council of Nicaea does not expressly deal with narrative images, it does refer to them at several points in contexts of some significance. One of the most important occasions is the discussion prompted by the information of the Papal legate concerning Constantine's decoration of the Lateran basilica in Rome. (XIII, 36-37.) Constantine, according to this informant, placed scenes of the Old and New Testament opposite one another in typological fashion so that on one side the viewer might see Adam expelled from Paradise and on the other the Good Thief entering Paradise. Because of Constantine's authority this alleged precedent was accepted with great enthusiasm.

In the West, the instructional function of narrative art was strongly defended by Pope Gregory the Great on the occasion of an incident of iconoclasm in Marseille. "It is one thing to worship a picture," Gregory wrote, "it is another to learn through the picture's story what is to be worshipped. For what writing supplies to readers painting offers to uneducated viewers; for in painting even the ignorant can see what course they should follow, and in painting the illiterate can read."[18]

Though the Eastern churches were not as cautious as Gregory concerning the worship of images, the general teaching function of narrative images was widely accepted there as well. In the fifth century Nilus of Sinai counselled his

correspondent "to fill the holy church on both sides with pictures from the Old and the New Testaments, executed by an excellent painter, so that the illiterate who are unable to read the Holy Scriptures, may, by gazing at the pictures, become mindful of the manly deeds of those who have genuinely served the true God, and may be roused to emulate those glorious and celebrated feats."[19] A century later Hypatius, bishop of Ephesus, speaking of narrative images explained, "We permit simple folk, inasmuch as they are less perfect, to learn things in an introductory manner by means of signs, which is appropriate to their natural development, having found on many occasions that even the old and new ordinances of God may be brought down to the level of the weaker for the sake of their spiritual salvation."[20] John Damascene in the eighth century picks us the same theme. "Just as words edify the ear, so also the image stimulates the eye. What the book is to the literate, the image is to the illiterate. Just as words speak to the ear, so the image speaks to the sight; it brings us understanding."[21]

In a world where literacy was a skill of the educated few, the power of pictorial narrative must have been felt much more forcefully than it is today. The principal aim of the narrative set of images in the Middle Byzantine church was to impress on the minds of the beholders the events of the life of Christ. The Council cited a specific instance of how narrative images worked. "When Christians see in a picture the Virgin giving birth and angels standing above with shepherds, they acknowledge God born man for our salvation, and they confess saying: He who was without flesh was made flesh." (XIII, 256.) Pictures carry a conviction that mere words cannot convey; like seeing events on documentary television, seeing the Gospel events in mosaic or fresco convinced the viewer of their reality. Hence the fathers of Nicaea II, in the prologue to the definition the council, profess that one of the unwritten traditions they are committed to is "the representing of the story of the Gospel, which is useful and accommodated to our advantage for *confirmation* of the true and not-illusory Incarnation of the Word of God." (XIII, 377) Pictures of the Word Incarnate give conviction to faith in the Incarnation.

It is clear, however, that the narrative images went beyond literal story telling, frequently expanding on the Gospel story. From the Gospel itself we know nothing about how Christ's body was taken down from the cross or how he rose from the dead; the images of these subjects, however, are full of vivid detail. This kind of pictorial expansion too seems to have been envisioned by the Council, for in one of the anathemata the narrative cycle is called "exegesis." "If anyone does not accept Gospel *exegeses* made in pictures, let him be anathema." (XIII, 400.) It is of the essence of exegesis that it go beyond the text, explaining what is unclear or completing what was left unsaid.

Instruction in the Gospel, however, is not the only aim of the narrative scenes. Like the sanctoral images the narrative images were also expected to have a profound emotional impact. In their wide ranging collection of Patristic texts in support of images, the fathers instanced Gregory of Nyssa's tears at contemplating an image of the sacrifice of Abraham. The Patriarch Tarasios immediately concluded, "If we saw an icon showing our Lord crucified, would not we also have wept?" "Yes!" the fathers answered, "for therein is recognized the height of the abasement of God who became man for us." (XIII, 12.) The spontaneous reaction to a Crucifixion was tears. The importance of weeping in the religious experience is not often discussed, but a good cry was essential to spiritual renewal. In an argument borrowed from Leontius of Cyprus the fathers note how children in the absence of their father might stir up their affection for him by sight of his staff or his cloak and embrace them with tears; "so we Christians make images of the passion of Christ in churches, in homes, on garments and in streets that looking constantly on these we should be moved and not forget." (XIII, 45.)

The single most important modern study on Byzantine church decoration has put us in a new position to appreciate the emotional depths of these narrative scenes. Henry Maguire's study of the parallelism between Byzantine art and Byzantine rhetoric has applied to the study of

these images a very rich and highly charged literature of sermons and liturgical poetry.[22] The Gospels have nothing to say about the Virgin's lament over her dead Son, but Byzantine churchmen imagined her reactions and invented words for her to express the pathos of her feelings. "I am now holding him without breath whom lately I took in my arms as my own dearest one, whose sweetest words I heard;" or "I raised you in a mother's arms, but leaping and jumping as children do. Now I raise you up in the same arms, but lying as the dead. Then I dipped my lips in your honey-sweet and dewy lips. Many times you slept on my breast as an infant, and now you have fallen asleep there as a dead man."[23] The painters followed the inspiration of the sermons by making the Virgin kiss her Son in the Lamentation scene the way she did in his infancy. The images have gone beyond the Gospels to elicit from the beholder a powerful emotional involvement in the events of the Gospel. Maguire has also demonstrated how when the narrative images are taken out of sequence in a program of church decoration the purpose is to set up juxtapositions or oppositions that will reinforce the emotional content of the scenes.

The narrative subjects also reinforce the liturgical action. While Demus insists on a layered division of the church in a vertical direction, the liturgical divisions of the church are longitudinal: narthex, nave, and sanctuary, and these divisions have something to do with the decorative program. The narthex has specific uses in the liturgy which have resonances in the program. If we find the Washing of the Feet represented in the narthex, it is because in fact that rite was performed in the narthex.[24] If other subjects showing the community of the disciples appear in the narthex—the Last Supper, the Betrayal, the Mission of the Apostles—it is because in fact the narthex was the place where the monks gathered for the chanting of the night hours. What better reminder of their calling than for the community of monks to gaze on the examples, for good or evil, of the college of apostles?[25]

At the other end of the church, in the sanctuary, it is not by chance that subjects which involve the Holy Spirit are preferred, such as the Annunication, the Pentecost, or the symbolic subject of the Hetoimasia throne with the dove above it. The fathers of the council also mention that in earlier times a silver dove of the Holy Spirit was commonly hung in the sanctuary above the altar. (XIII, 180-81, 184.) In contrast to the Latin liturgy in which the mystical transformation of the bread and wine is said to take place at the recitation of the words of institution, in the Byzantine liturgy the transformation is said to take place at the prayer of Epiclesis, that is the invocation of the Holy Spirit. After the words of institution the priest asks the Father to send down the Holy Spirit on the gifts that they may become the Body and Blood of Christ. The transformation of the gifts is thus made parallel to Christ's Incarnation when the Holy Spirit came upon the Virgin Mary (Lk. 1:35). The proximity of the representation of the Annunciation to the sanctuary makes the celebration of the liturgy a real part of the narrative decoration of the church. Christ is becoming reincarnate in the liturgy the way he became incarnate in the Virgin Mary. Hence it is her image that gazes down on the altar from the apse.

III

I have reserved for the last the grandest and most awesome part of the Middle Byzantine program, namely the half-length image of Christ the Pantokratōr in the dome. Clutching the Gospel in his left hand and blessing with his right, he looks down through a kind of oculus at the summit of the dome. This is conceptually the most ambitious creation of Byzantine art and its place in Byzantine worship is not easy to define.[26]

From its position in the dome it is clear that the Pantokratōr did not function like the icons in the lower parts of the church; it is much too high to kiss and if you prostrate yourself before it you turn your back on it. How could one possibly be involved in an image which physically was so remote? The key to the meaning of this image, I believe, lies in its relationship to the action in the space below the dome. The

nave of the Byzantine church was the congregation space par excellence; Krautheimer tried to represent the nave as space reserved for clergy and court, but there are no barriers to reserve the nave and the Byzantine commentators on the Divine Liturgy leave no doubt that the nave was the space of the laity.[27] The dome crowns the people of God assembled to participate in the liturgy. By entering the church the believer "put on Christ" (Gal. 3:27) in a very literal fashion, he was umbrella-ed by him, he stood under him in hope of under-standing him. While the sanctuary is reserved for the most sacred and solemn actions of the liturgy the place where the liturgy comes to bear on the participant is in the space before the chancel barrier. The space under the dome is the space for the participant's encounter with the divine.

The ultimate purpose of the liturgy is more than instruction and more than commemoration: it is transformation, and this I believe is the key to the meaning of the Pantokratōr. The goal of the liturgy of the Eucharist is the transformation of the participant into Christ, and it was this dimension of the liturgy that most fascinated Carl Jung.[28] Unfortunately Jung's familiarity with the liturgy was restricted to the Latin mass, and the transformation symbolism he examined was that involved in transubstantiation, a preoccupation of Western theologians. Byzantine authors, however emphasize a transformation symbolism that is inherent in the basic twofold structure of the liturgy. The liturgical action is in essence: (1) enlightenment and (2) communion, and both of these processes have as their goal the intimate identification of the believer with Christ.

The first half of the liturgy is the liturgy of the word, an instruction in divine revelation. It is certainly significant that the invariable attribute of the Pantokratōr is his Gospel book, for the solemn procession of the Gospel with candles and incense, the Little or First Entrance, is dramatically the high point of the first half of the liturgy, and it takes place directly beneath the dome.[29] Furthermore, the reading of the Gospel that follows, which is the climax of the instruction, is performed by the deacon on the step before the bema underneath the dome.[30] The effect of the readings and the songs that accompanied them is the purification and elevation of the listener. In somewhat convoluted language Maximus the Confessor tells us, "Broadly speaking, the holy Gospel is a reminder of the end of this world, but more particularly it declares the believers' utter rejection of the primordial error: the death and extermination of the law and mind of the flesh in active souls; and in the wise, who have completed the more detailed and complex study of natural philosophy, their association and transference of the many different causes of things to the most comprehensive of all."[31] The reading of the Gospel, then, purifies the minds of the faithful and elevates them to their First Cause. The Pantokratōr in the dome is the Illuminator leading his followers to the way of light.

The second half of the liturgy is the Eucharist, culminating in Communion which is also adminstered to the faithful underneath the dome on the step before the bema.[32] It is in Communion that the Christian comes closest, on this earth, to realizing the goal of the Christian life: his identification with Christ and assimilation into him. This transformation symbolism is central to the meaning of the church building and to the Pantokratōr image. According to Maximus, "The holy reception of the immaculate and life-giving sacraments brings about a resemblance to Him, which effects a communion and identity with Him by participation, after which the human person is deemed fit to be changed out of a man into God. . . . [Jesus Christ] transforms us into Himself. He rids us of the symptoms of corruption, and grants us the original, archetypal mysteries represented here to the senses under symbols."[33]

Nicholas Cabasilas observes that unlike the reception of ordinary food which is transformed into the body of the consumers, the transformation works the other way in the sacrament; he who eats the Body and Blood of Christ is transformed into Christ, for "the higher and divine element overcomes the earthly one." In this context Nicholas invokes a most telling metaphor: "When iron is placed in fire, it becomes fire; it does not, however, give the fire the properties of iron; and just as when we see white-hot iron it

seems to be fire and not metal, since all the characteristics of iron have been destroyed by the action of fire, so if one could see the Church of Christ insofar as she is united to him and shares his sacred Body, one would see nothing other than the Body of the Lord."[34] This miraculous transformation of the Christian into his higher and more perfect self in Christ is the action that we must associate with the image of Christ in the dome. The Christ in the dome is the full, perfect self that the beholder becomes in Communion.

The passage of Cabasilas also reminds us of the essentially communal dimension of the Christian transformation: it is not just the individual but the "Church of Christ" that is being united with Christ. For this reason the reception of communion is preceded by the priest's invocation, "Holy things to the holy," to which the response is "One is holy, one is Lord, Jesus Christ, in the glory of God the Father." This verse is interpreted by Maximus as a presage of the future one-ness of the whole church in Christ.[35]

This process of transformation is the key to the symbolism of the Byzantine church. The Byzantine church was a very special kind of space laid out in rigorous centrality around a vertical well of light under the cup of the dome. The dome defined a magical space in which one encountered the divine. Here the worshipper found himself at the very center of creation, encompassed with the saints, ringed around with the example of Christ's life, and on direct axis with his Lord overhead. One did not enter this space to work out puzzles in iconography but to be transformed or transported. Through the sanctoral cycle the participant was incorporated into the communion of saints; the narrative images of Christ's life aroused his faith, and his faith identified Christ's life with the action of the liturgy before him. Taking part in the liturgy the worshipper was transformed into the Christ who embraced him from above.

The experience must have been awesome, but in the final analysis it was not an experience of terror but of intimacy with Christ. We must remember that one of the commonest epithets of Christ in Byzantium was "philanthrōpos", or "lover of mankind." This is precisely the way Nicholas Mesarites describes the image of the Pantokratōr at the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. Only half of the figures is visible, he says, "because he dwells in heaven in the bosom of his Father, and wishes to associate with men on earth together with his Father, according to the saying, 'I and my Father will come and make our abode with him.' Wherefore he may be seen, to quote her who sings, looking forth through the window, leaning down to his naval through the lattice which is near the summit of the dome, after the manner of irresistibly ardent lovers."[36] In a bold figure of speech borrowed from the Song of Solomon, Mesarites imagines Christ looking at mankind through a window, burning with a lover's desire to be united with his beloved. The Christ in the dome is the lover with whom one is united in the divine liturgy. As Maximus concludes his commentary on the process: "By adoption and grace it is possible for them [the participants] to be and to be called gods, because all of God completely fills them, leaving nothing in them empty of his presence."[37]

The involvement of the Orthodox beholder with his painted images was complete. Actively, through his faith and ritual, the believer entered a world of images in a way the modern viewer of paintings cannot accomplish. The contrast in the two situations is striking. Since the creator of the recent "Living Paintings" can presume no faith in his viewer—and perhaps no imagination either—he resorts to standing inside his own painting and reaching out to touch the viewer. The viewer laughs with embarassment, pauses for a moment to watch the strange happening, and moves on.

Notes

[1]Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration. Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium* (London, 1948).

[2]Indeed willingness to venerate icons was regarded as a test of orthodoxy of belief, somewhat the way one's willingness to venerate the emperor's statue had been a test of allegiance to the Roman Empire. "If anyone does not greet (*aspazetai*) these (icons) as being in the name of the Lord and his saints, let him be anathema." (XIII, 400.) Citations of the Second council of Nicaea will be by volume and column number in Ioannes D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collection*, vols. XII and XIII (Florence, 1766-67).

[3]Demus, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

[4]Protestants, I recognize, are traditionally uncomfortable with appeals to un-documentable, unwritten sources; but the fathers of Nicaea II had no such scruples. In the preamble to the definition of the council, after professing faith in the six preceding ecumenical councils, the fathers affirmed that, "they keep all the church traditions handed on, whether written or unwritten, one of which is the figuring of iconic representations." (XIII, 377.) The existence of an authoritative un-written tradition, that stands parallel to the written tradition, was enunciated by John Damascene, citing Basil's classic statement: "Concerning the teachings of the Church, whether publicly proclaimed or reserved to members of the household of faith, we have received some from written sources, while others have been given to us secretly, through apostolic tradition. Both sources have equal force in true religion." John Damascene, *On the Divine Images*, chap. 23, trans. David Anderson (Crestwood, N.Y., 1980), p. 31; Basil *On the Holy Spirit*, chap. 27, sect. 66, trans. David Anderson (Crestwood, N.Y. 1980), p. 98.

[5]For the record it is worth quoting the definition of the Council at the outset: "We define with all certitude and accuracy that, on equal footing with the sign of the holy and life-giving cross, venerable and holy images made of paint and mosaic and other materials are properly set up in the churches of God and on sacred vessels and vestments, on walls, on panels, in houses and on streets: namely, images of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ and of our undefiled Lady the holy Mother of God, and of the honored angels and all the saints and holy men. For the more often they are seen in their pictorial representations, the more the beholder is excited to recall and yearn for the ones represented, and to offer them greeting and reverent proskynesis, not true adoration in faith, which is due only to the Divine Nature, but in the manner of that given to the holy life-giving cross or the holy gospels or other holy votive offerings, by making offering of incense and lights in their honor as has been the ancient pious custom. For the honor to the image passes to the prototype, and he who does proskynesis to the image does proskynesis to the person represented in it." (XIII, 377.)

[6]Demus suggests that calendric considerations also entered into the arrangement, but examples of this are very rare. Demus, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[7]Touching forehead to the floor is mentioned in XIII, 60.

[8]The council also uses the term *periptussomai*, "I embrace" the icon. (XIII, 1010.)

[9]John Damascene, *On the Divine Images*, I, chap. 18, trans. David Anderson (New York, 1980), pp. 23-24.

[10]*The Greek Anthology*, I, 34, *Loeb Classical Library*, trans. W. R. Paton (Cambridge, Mass, 1960), I, pp. 20-23; I am using the excellent translation by Cyril Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453, Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), p. 115

[11]Gabriel Millet, *Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Évangile* (Paris, 1916), pp. 16-25.

[12]Demus, *op. cit.* p. 16.

[13]This argument was developed in an undergraduate paper written for me by William H. Monroe of Harvard Divinity School in 1971, "The Mid-Byzantine Festival Cycle and its Liturgical Function."

[14]On the origin of the calendar see Thomas J. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* (New York, 1986).

[15]For the readings of the liturgical year see Juan Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, Xe siècle. Introduction. Texte Critique. Traduction et Notes* 2 vols. (Rome, 1962-63), Orientalia Christiana Analecta 165-66.

[16] Demus, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[17]Cf. Germanus, *Ecclesiastical History*, chaps. 1-10, trans. Paul Meyendorff (Crestwood, New York, 1984), pp. 56-63.

[18]*Epistola xxii ad Serenum Massiliensem episcopum*, PL 77, 1128.

[19]Nilus of Sinai, *Letter to Prefect Olympiodorus*, in Cyril Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 33.

[20]Fragment of Hypatius, from Cyril Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 117.

[21]John Damascene, *On the Divine Images*, I, chap. 17, trans. David Anderson, p. 25.

[22]Henry Maguire, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton, 1981).

[23]Quotations from Georgy of Nicomedia and Symeon Metaphrastes from Henry Maguire, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-02.

[24]Juan Mateos, *Typicon*, II, p. 73.

[25]This argument was developed in a seminar paper by Sharon Gerstel at the Institute of Fine Arts, N.Y.U., 1987.

[26]See Matthews, "Transformation Symbolism in Byzantine Architecture and the Meaning of the Pantokratōr in the Dome," *Church and People in Byzantium: Twentieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, the University of Manchester, in press.

[27]Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, end revised edition (Baltimore, 1975) p. 313. For discussion of the relevant texts from Maximus and Germanus see Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople. Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1971), 121-22; Symeon of Thessalonike also locates the people in the nave, *De Sacro Templo* chap. 142, PG 155, 352.

[28]C. G. Jung, *Psychology and Religion: West and East*, Collected Works, vol. 11 (Princeton, 1958), chap. 3 "Transformation Symbolism of the Mass."

[29]There is no foundation to Giordani's contention that Christ holds the book of judgment. Else Giordani, "Das mittelbyzantinische Ausschmückungsystem als Ausdruck eines hieratischen Bildprogramms," *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 1 (1951), 126. The book of judgement is a scroll with seven seals which the Lord holds in his right hand (Rev. 5:1); the Pantokratōr always carries a codex, it is in his left hand, and when it is open it shows the text: "I am the light of the world; he who follows me will not walk in darkness, but will have the light of life" (Jn. 8:11). On the evolution of the First Entrance see Thomas E Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, Penn., 1971), 138-47.

[30]In the Early Byzantine liturgy the reading was done from an elevated ambo in the center of the nave; the ambo disappeared in the medieval church and the readings took place as they do in contemporary Orthodox usage on the step before the doors of the sanctuary which came to be called the ambo. Mathews, *ibid.*, 147-49; Symeon of Thessalonike, *De Sacro Templo*, chap. 136, PG 155, 346.

[31]Maximus the Confessor, *Mystagogia*, chap. 24, trans. Dom Julian Stead, *The Church, the Liturgy and the Soul of Man: the Mystagogia of St. Maximus the Confessor* (Still River, Mass., 1982), 106.

[32]The place of receiving Communion seems not to have changed from Early Christian times through the Middle Ages. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople*, 172.

[33]Maximus the Confessor, *Mystagogia*, chap. 24, trans. Stead, 102-4.

[34]Nicholas Cabasilas, *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, chap. 38, trans. J. M. Hussey and P. A. McNulty (London, 1960), 91.

[35]Maximus, *Mystagogia*, chap. 21, trans. Stead, 96.

[36]Nicholas Mesarites, *Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles*, 14, Cyril Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 232.

[37]Maximus, *Mystagogia*, chap. 21, trans. Stead, 96.

Figure 1. Christ Pantokrator surrounded by Angels, in the dome of Panagia tou Arakou, Lagoudera, Cyprus, 1192. Photo Byzantine Visual Resources, copyright Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

Figure 2. The Sanctoral Cycle, with narrative subjects of the Deposition and the Lamentation above, in the nave of St. Panteleimon, in Nerezi, Yugoslavia, 1164. Photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Washington, D.C.

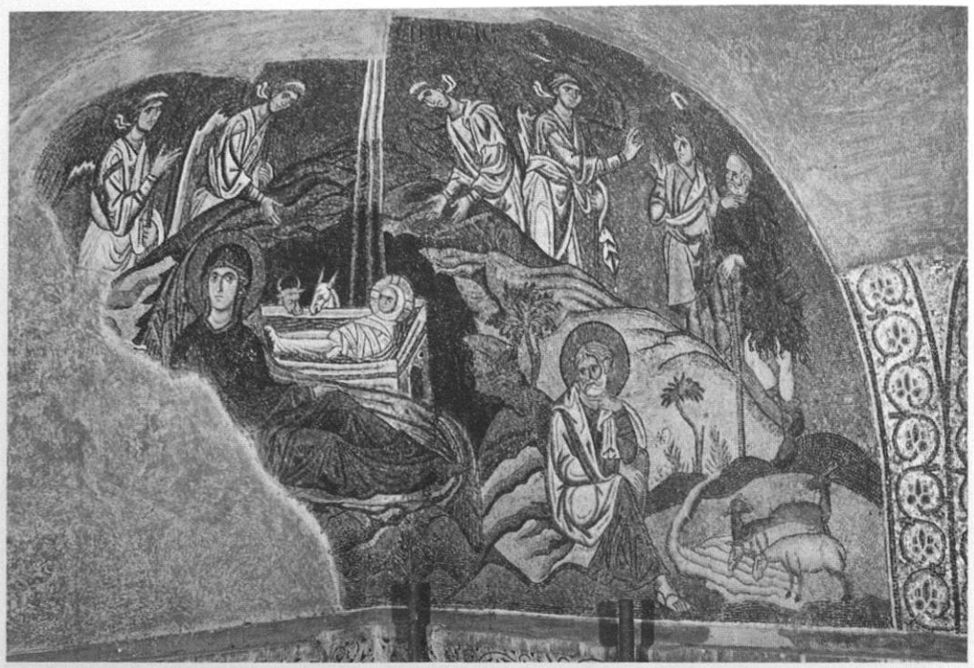

Figure 3. The Nativity, from the narrative cycle in the nave of church of Daphni, Greece, eleventh century. Photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Washington, D.C.

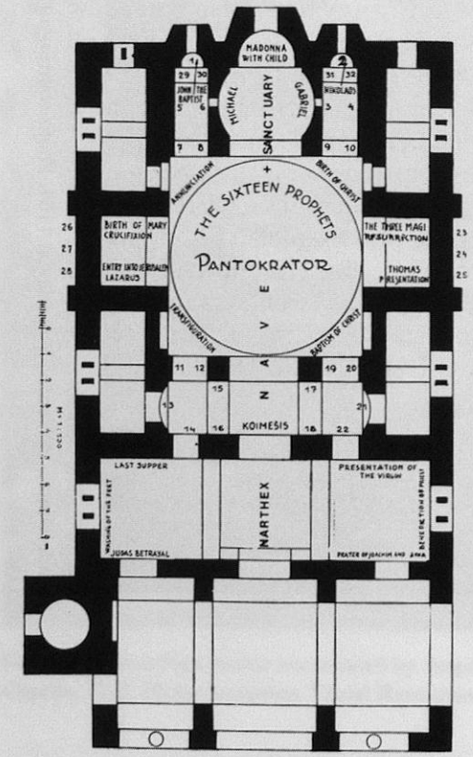

Figure 4. Plan of the church of Daphni, Greece, showing disposition of subjects. Numbers identify saints in the sanctoral cycle; + marks place for reading the Gospel and receiving Communion. Adopted from plan in Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*.

The Transformation symbolism in Byzantine architecture and the meaning of the Pantokrator in the dome[1]

The designs that appear in ninth-century Byzantine architecture, and are repeated with subtle variations for hundreds of years thereafter, are all, in simplest terms, compact crosses supporting a central dome (figs. 1 and 2).[2] The most universal of Christian symbols, the cross represents the victory of Christ over death and the new creation inaugurated by that victory. Far from being some sort of abstract cypher or hieroglyph, the cross was regarded as the means of active and personal transformation into Christ. Paul expressed the Christian's attitude: 'I have been crucified with Christ: it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me . . . Far be it from me to glory except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world. For neither circumcision counts for anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creation'. (Galatians 2.10, 6.14-15). Entering the church building, the believer entered bodily into the cross; once inside he took part liturgically in Christ's sacrifice on the cross, he bowed to receive the blessing of a cross-clad bishop who held aloft a jewelled cross, and he signed himself repeatedly with the cross. This multiple crossing on various levels was intended to symbolize and effect the identification of the believer with Christ crucified the way Paul described it. John Damascene in

1. For discussing the Oriental dimensions of this subject with me, I am indebted to John Hay, Julia Meech-Pekarik, Ann Wood Norton and Alexander Soper.

2. On middle Byzantine architecture, see R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine architecture,* 2nd ed. (Baltimore, 1975), 349 ff; C. Mango, *Byzantine architecture* (New York, 1974), 194 ff.

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Fig. 1: Church of Christos Pantokrator, Constantinople: a 12th-century example of the cross-in-square plan with dome on pendentives. Photo: T. Mathews

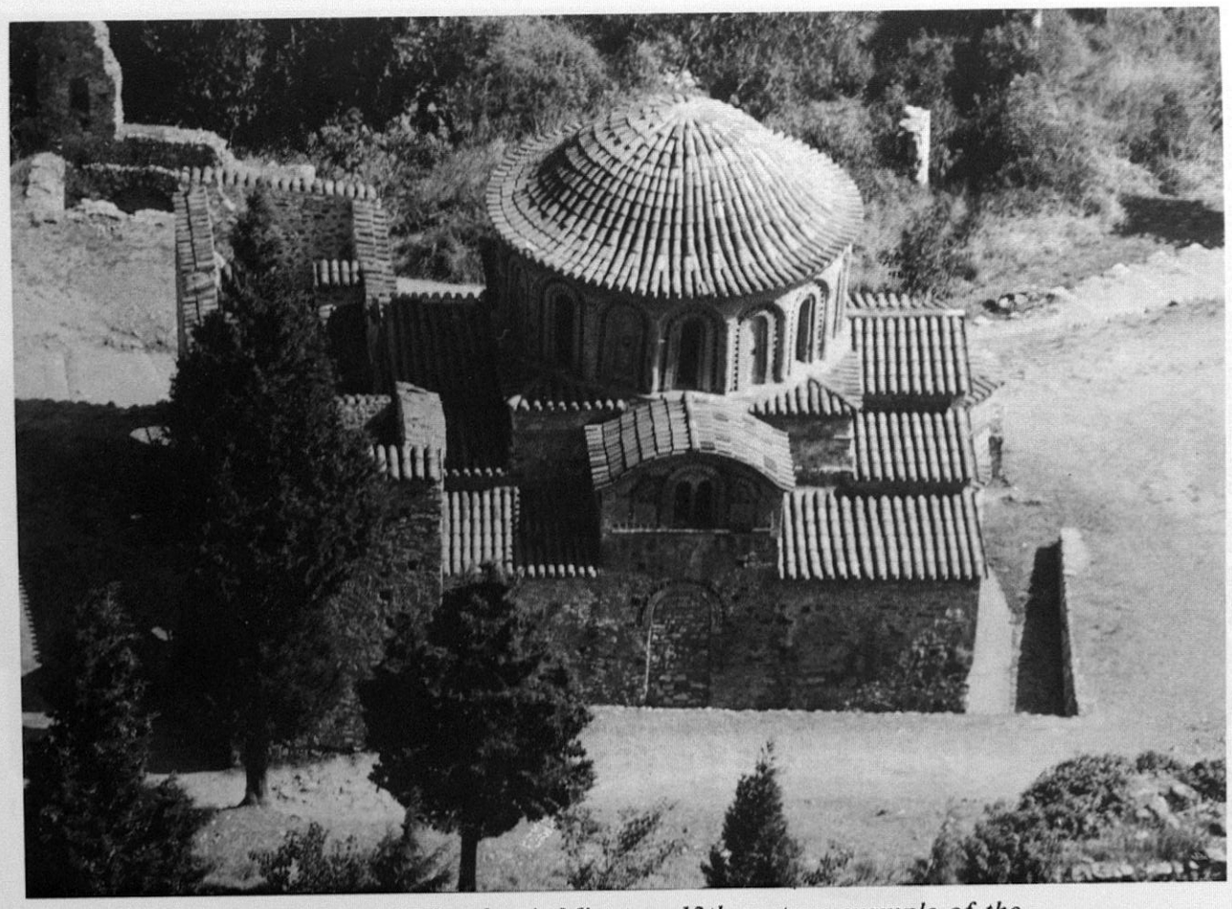


Fig. 2: Hagioi Theodoroi, Mistra: a 13th-century example of the octagonal plan with dome on squinches. Photo: T. Mathews

the eighth century remarked, 'The might of God, that is his victory over death, has been revealed to us in the cross'.[3]

Yet it is not the cross that dominated the Byzantine chruch building but rather the dome. Carried on four arches or eight, on pendentives or squinches, partitioned into sections of eight, nine, twelve or sixteen, the dome caps a central well of light which is the focus of the entire design (fig. 3).[4] The symbolic interpretation of this form is somewhat more difficult. To call it simply (and grandly) the 'dome of heaven' is to assign it a name that Carl Lehmann has given to a pagan cosmological dome symbolism, which, it has been shown, does not carry over into Christian church decoration.[5] Some effort should be made to understand the Christian building in Christian terms.

If we want to discuss the symbolism of the Byzantine dome we have to discuss the iconography of the dome, for the meaning of the dome is specified in the Byzantine decorative programme by the half-length image of Christ Pantokrator (figs. 4-6).[6] Clutching the Gospel in his left hand and blessing with his right, he looks down through a kind of oculus that is often rimmed with a rainbow motif. The interpretation of this image ought to be a matter of some urgency, for it was the principal image of

3. John of Damascus, *De sacris imaginibus Oratio II,* PG, 94, xix, col. 1305.

4. C. Bouras has demonstrated that the original dome of Nea Moni in Chios was nine-sided, a very unusual design: *Nea Moni on Chios: history and architecture* (Athens, 1982), 101-11.

5. While there may well be compositional similarities between the pagan and the Byzantine dome decorations, the iconography of seasons, planets and zodiac is dropped in the Byzantine iconography. C. Lehmann, 'The Dome of Heaven', *ArtB,* 27 (1945), 1-27; T.F. Mathews, 'Cracks in Lehmann's "Dome of Heaven"', *Source,* 1/3 (1982), 12-6.

6. Two other subjects sometimes copy the central dome of the Byzantine church: in Cappadocia and the Caucasus a monumental ornamented cross sometimes occurs, repeating the cross symbolism of the floor plan; occasionally, too, in Cappadocia and Greece the dome is decorated with the Ascension, the implications of which should be pursued separately.

Opposite:
Fig. 3: Daphni Monastery Church, c.1100; east-west section
Photo after G. Millet, Le monastère de Daphni

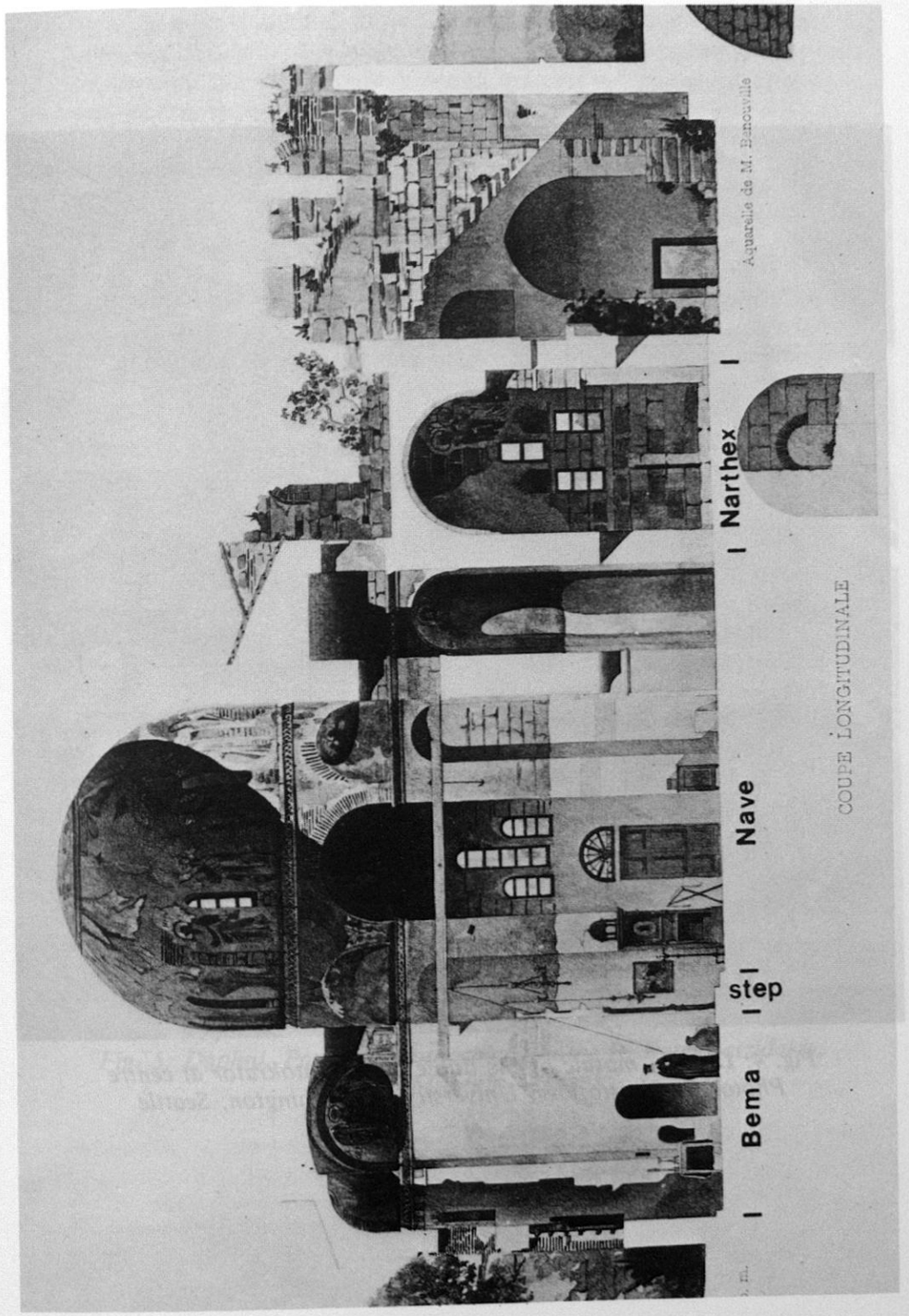


Fig. 4: Daphni, mosaic of the dome with Pantokrator at centre
Photo: C. Christofides, University of Washington, Seattle

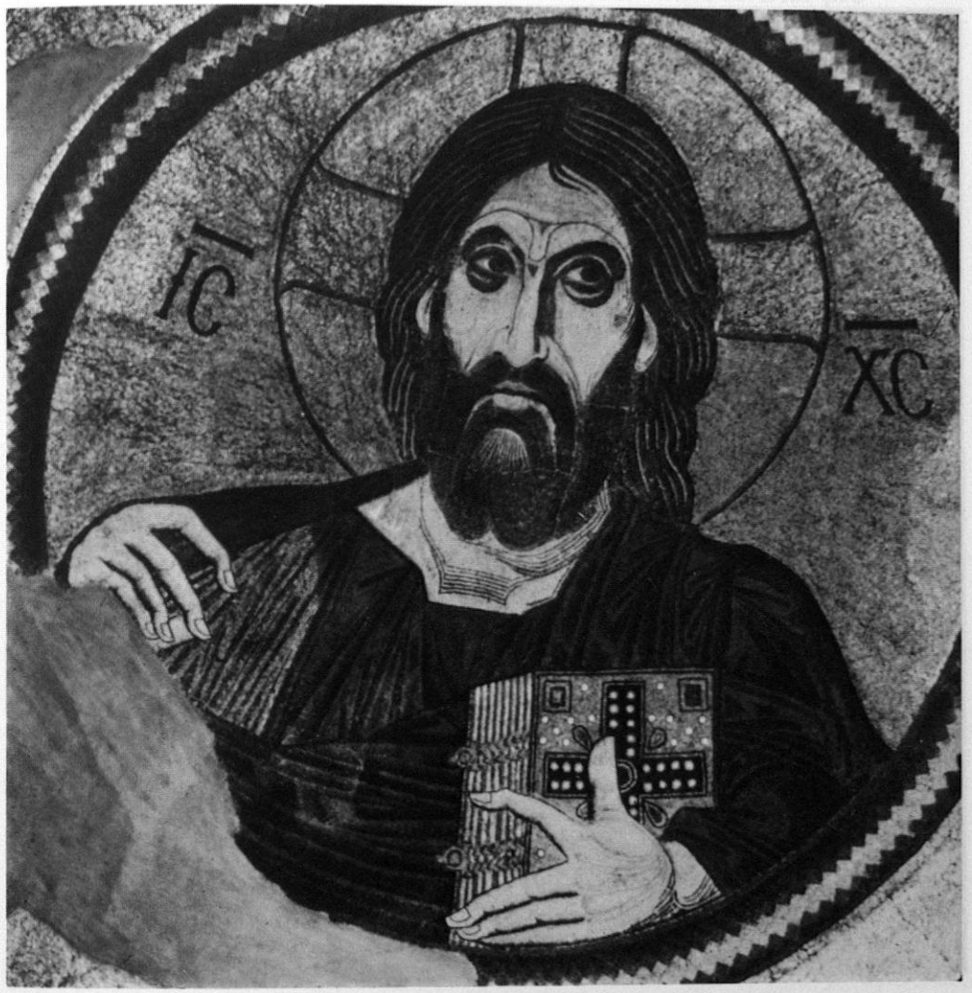
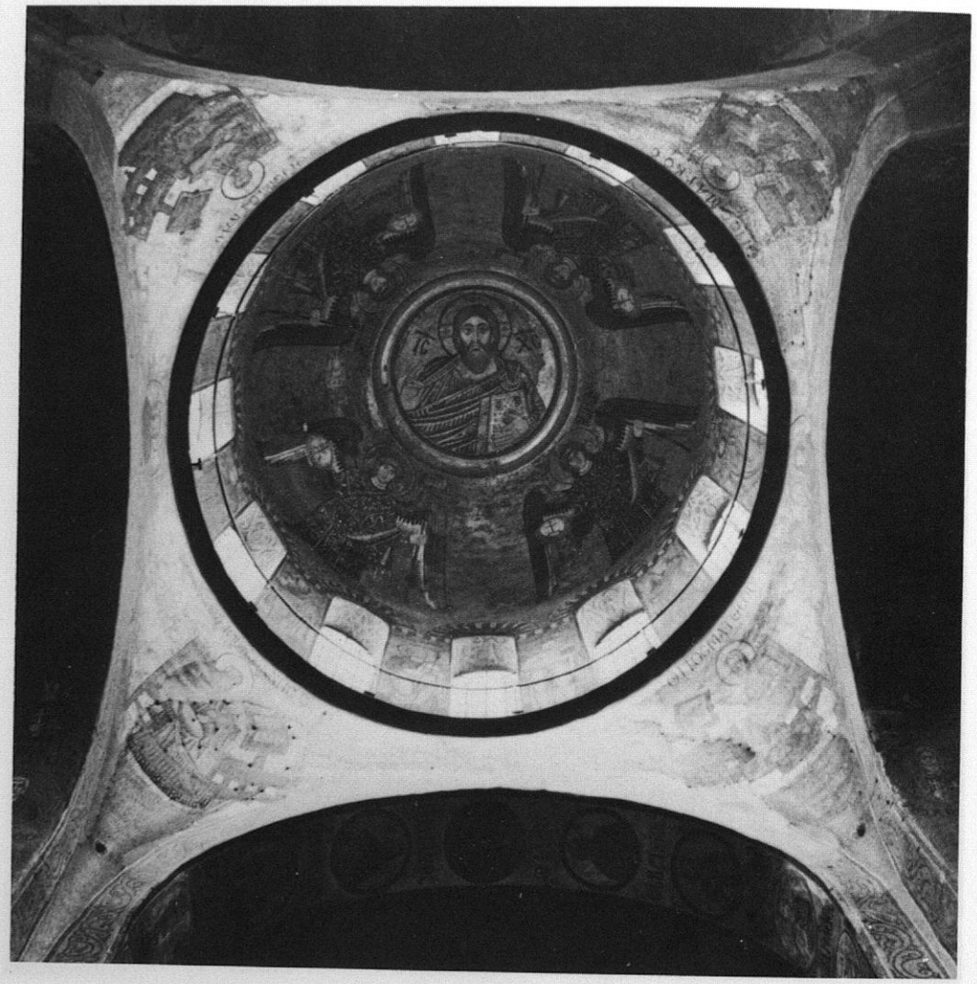


Fig. 5: Daphni, Pantokrator mosaic. Photo: P. Papachatzidakis, Benaki Museum, Athens



the Byzantine church, controlling the space in the nave, somewhat the way the crucifix, from its lofty position above the rood screen, controlled the vast spaces of the Gothic cathedral. At the apex of the dome the Pantokrator concludes the entire interior programme of narrative and iconic subjects. Yet the Pantokrator itself has received little attention and that has been generally misleading.[7]

The simplicity of this image is a serious challenge to the modern interpreter: there are absolutely no narrative clues accompanying the image. Demus tried to fix a narrative meaning to the image, by reading it as an abbreviation for the Ascension.[8] But this does not stand scrutiny. The half-length blessing Christ had wide circulation as an independent motif in icons and coinage of the sixth and seventh centuries without any implications of the Ascension; and the Ascension itself often had a place elsewhere in the Byzantine decorative programme. On the other hand the imperial interpretation of the image, that would make Christ into a great emperor in the sky, is no more credible.[9] The iconography itself gives no warrant for such a reading: in contrast to developments of the image of Christ in the West, the Pantokrator never wears any of the imperial attributes, whether crown or *chlamys* or *loros,* and he never carries a sceptre. His facial type derives from ancient representations of Zeus and has nothing to do with types of the imperial visage. It should be noticed that whenever a Byzantine author compares Christ to the emperor the author is speak-

7. For bibliography on the Pantokrator, see K. Wessel, 'Christusbild', *RBK,* 1046-7; E. Lucchesi Palli, 'Christusbild: der Pantokrator', *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie,* ed. E. Kirschbaum, *et al.,* 8 vols. (Freiburg, 1968-76) I, 394.

8. O. Demus, *Byzantine mosaic decoration: aspects of monumental art in Byzantium* (London, 1948), 19-22. The equivalence of the Pantokrator and the Ascension was recently re-asserted by K.M. Skawran, *The development of middle Byzantine fresco painting in Greece* (Pretoria, 1982), 13.

9. E. Giordani, 'Das mittelbyzantinisch Ausschmückungssystem als Ausdruck eines hieratischen Bildprogramms', *JöB,* 1 (1951), 103-34, espec. 128.

Opposite:
Fig. 6: St Sophia, Kiev, 1037: mosaic of the dome
Photo: T. Mathews

ing in the presence of the emperor or is himself the emperor: the comparison is courtly flattery or imperial megalomania.[10]

If the iconography is so simple that it defies discursive analysis, this does not mean, as Klaus Wessel maintained, that it is in fact undefinable, but that our traditional way of approaching the subject is not adequate.[11] Instead of looking for iconographic complexities, perhaps we should be asking what was its psychological impact on the viewer. How was the church-goer expected to react to the image? Is Christ's commanding gaze meant to be stern or gracious? Should one tremble at the vison or melt with joy? Is the Lord threatening or inviting the beholder? These questions may take us beyond the customary borders of art history, but the psychological implications of so extraordinary an image cannot be avoided.

Western art historians have consistently found a terrible severity in the Pantokrator, especially in that of Daphni. According to Charles Diehl, 'En effect, ce n'est plus ici le Christ évangelique, le Sauveur doux et tendre; c'est le créateur, le maître du monde, le Pantocrator, image du Dieu invisible, avec lequel il se confond'.[12] Else Giordani, speaking of the Kiev Pantokrator as well as that of Daphni, reads anger in his face: 'Die regelmässigen, strengen Gesichtszüge, die gefurchte Stirn, die grossen, weitgeöffneten, jedoch zur Seite gewendeten Augen und der geschlossene Mund, um welchen sich zwei tiefe Falten einkerben, bezeichnen den Zorn, die Unnahbarkeit und unerbittliche, gerechte Strenge des Allherschers, in dem Beschauer der Furcht vor der verdienten Strafe erweckend'.[13] Talbot Rice termed the Daphni Christ, 'not the tender human Jesus of Western thought, but rather a strange awesome figure akin to the Old Testament Jehovah',[14] and John Beckwith also identifies him as Jehovah: 'a heavy Semitic judge

10. See Photios' description of the Pharos church delivered in the presence of Michael III, and Leo VI's description of the Stylianos church: Mango, *Art of the Byzantine empire*, 185-6, 203-4; R. J. H. Jenkins and C. Mango, 'The date and significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius', *DOP*, 9-10 (1956), 125-40.
11. K. Wessel, 'Christusbild: der Pantokrator', *RBK*, I, 1017: 'So bleibt die formale Ikonographie des Pantocrator-Bildes unfassbar'.
12. C. Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantine* (Paris, 1910), 456.
13. Giordani, 'Mittelbyzantinische Ausschmückungssystem', 126.
14. D. Talbot Rice, *Art of the Byzantine era* (New York, 1963), 90.

with thick nose and full, cruel mouth, the thick-browed eyes gazing pitilessly to one side, . . . one sinewy hand grasping a jewelled codex, the other raised in blessing but conveying also menace and condemnation'.[15] To the modern interpreter it is a remote, uncompromising figure pronouncing harsh sentence on the world. The Daphni image is admittedly the most severe of all Pantokrators; nevertheless, even of this image one must ask whether modern reactions are a reliable measure of medieval intentions. The real question that must be addressed is how the image was regarded by the Byzantine beholder.

The basic dogmatic meaning of the image was made clear by the name the 'Pantokrator', which was associated with it from the ninth century on.[16] The history of the term has been carefully examined by Orsalina Montevecchi.[17] The Greek word, which can be translated as 'the almighty, the all-powerful, the all-ruler', was unknown to classical authors; it makes its first appearance in the translation of the Septuagint in the third or second century B.C. Jewish translators putting the Old Testament into Greek coined the term Pantokrator as the proper name of God, rendering the Hebrew expression *Jahweh Adonai Sebaoth* as *Kyrios ho theos ho Pantokrator*. Accordingly, the earliest Christian use of the term took Pantokrator as the name of God the Father. It was the Arian denial of Christ's divinity that prompted Athanasius to assign the names of the Father to the Son as well, calling Christ also the Pantokrator — an extension that theologians call the *communicatio idiomatum*, or sharing of names. Hence the image in the dome can carry the proper names of the Father and besides

15. J. Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine art* (Baltimore, 1970), 120.
16. In pointing out that the earliest instances in which the name 'Pantokrator' is inscribed on the image itself occur in the twelfth century, Jane Timken has taken an unduly restrictive view of the matter. J. Timken Matthews, 'The Byzantine use of the title Pantokrator', *OCP*, 44 (1978), 442-62. The term was used in the ninth-century inscription of the tympanum of Hagia Sophia, Constaninople, where it evidently referred to an image in the dome, and it was used in the apse and the drum of Daphni (and other churches) in situations where it must be connected with the image in the dome. For the inscription in Hagia Sophia, see C. Mango *Materials for the study of the mosaics of St Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington, DC, 1962), 63-6; for those at Daphni, see G. Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni* (Paris, 1899), 76, 83.
17. O. Montevecchi, 'Pantokrator', *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni*, 3 vols. (Milan, 1957), Ii, 401-32.

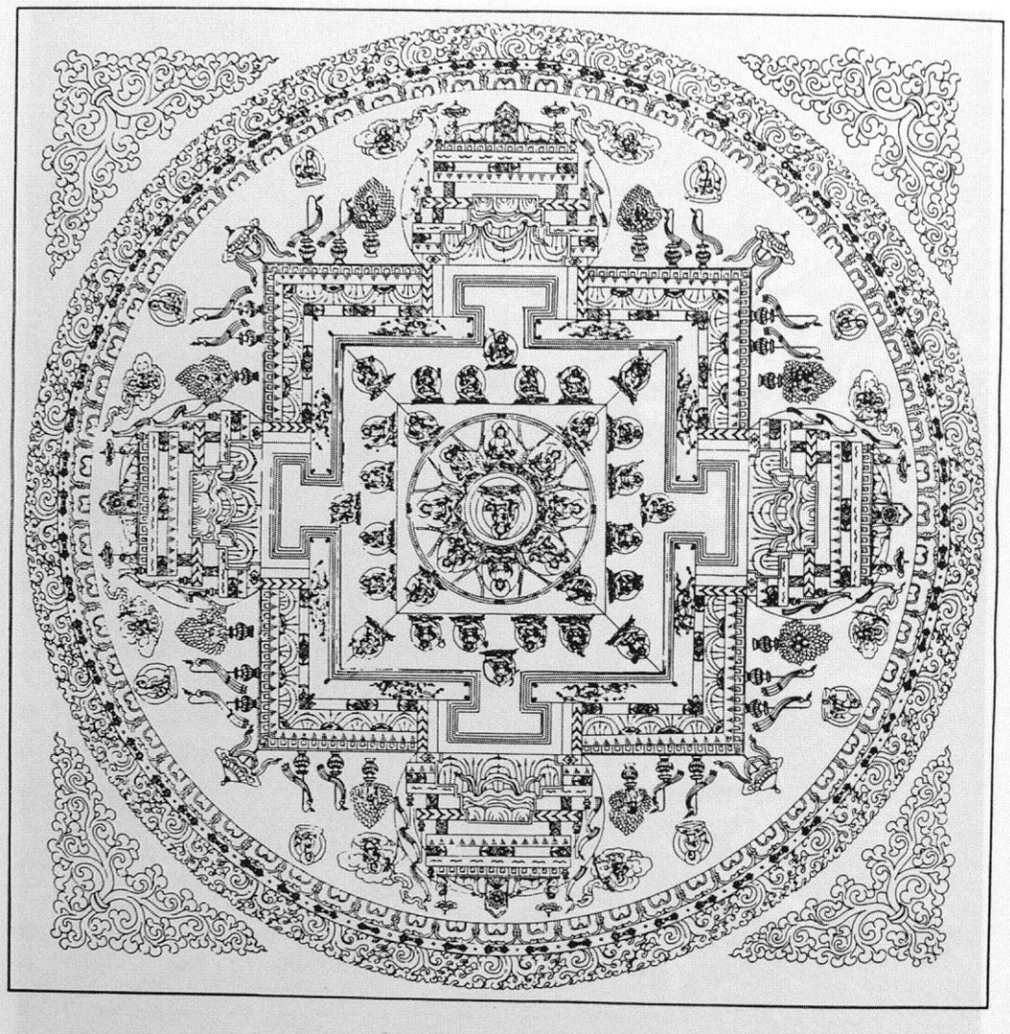
the inscription 'Pantokrator' it is sometimes labelled *ho on* ('he who is'). But this does not make it a representation of the Father or 'Jehovah'; only Christ is being represented and the figure is invariably labelled with the Greek abbreviation 'IC XP', Jesus Christ. Dogmatically, therefore, the image is a reaffirmation of the consubstantiality of Christ with the Father as defined at Nicaea: 'God of God, light of light, true God of true God, begotten not made, of one substance with the Father'.

But this dogmatic meaning says too much and too little for our purposes. Too much, because virtually every image of Christ implies this meaning; too little because it doesn't really explain why this image had to be present in the dome. The more significant question to ask of this image is not a question of iconography so much as a question of function, for the function of the image involves our understanding of both the image and the architectural space to which it belongs. One wants to know not just what are the attributes and the inscriptions that go with this figure of Christ, but how the viewer was expected to relate to this figure, and how the viewer used it. The identical half-length blessing Christ could be, and was, used on panel icons but in an entirely different relationship to the viewer. The beholder's reaction to an icon was one of intimate worship, which was described in Greek by two terms: *aspasmos*, a greeting in the form of a kiss or an embrace; and *proskynesis*, prostrating oneself on the floor before the image. These are the two terms used to define the legitimate veneration of images at the Council of Nicaea II.[18] The Pantokrator in the dome, however, is too remote to kiss; and were the viewer to prostrate himself in *proskynesis* beneath the dome he would in fact turn his back to the image.

How then did the beholder relate to this image? I would like to suggest that we look at an image from a very different culture

18. Mansi, XIII, 377-80.

Opposite:
Fig.7: Panagia Arakiotissa, Lagoudera, 1192: general view of frescoes. Photo: Dumbarton Oaks



as a model, in some respects, of how the dome-Pantokrator was used, and consequently of how it ought to be interpreted. As an alternative to our usual iconographic method I would suggest we consider the *mandala* of Buddhist and Hindu culture, which Alexander Soper likened to Byzantine dome decoration in a provocative article on dome decoration in the Orient.[19] In the *mandala* the central circle is occupied by the divinity, the timeless beginning, and from the circle the four directions of the created world radiate out (fig. 8). An obvious visual analogy can be found between this composition and the Byzantine placement of the image of the timeless divinity, Christ, within a circle from which develop the four directions of creation (fig. 7). The analogy, however, is more than visual.

According to Giuseppe Tucci's study, the *mandala* 'is above all, a map of the cosmos'; or 'it is the whole universe in its essential plan, in its process of emanation and of reabsorption . . . It is a geometric projection of the world reduced to an essential pattern'; it is a 'cosmogram'.[20] From the secret first principle, the Absolute or the One, which is unchanging and eternal and permanent and omnipotent, all of the created world emanates. This of course is quite different from a Christian concept of creation. In Indian thought the Infinite projects itself and by the operation of *maya* assumes the limitations of the world of experience: the limitations of time, determination, desire, intellection, generation. In Christian thought, on the other hand, God creates a heaven and an earth that are essentially distinct from himself, and he creates by free decision rather than by necessity.

Still, there is a very real sense in which the Byzantine church represents a cosmogram. In the centre is Christ, who, in the words

19. A. Soper, 'The "Dome of Heaven" in Asia', *ArtB,* 29 (1947), 224-48, espec. 226.
20. G. Tucci, *The theory and practice of the mandala, with special reference to the modern psychology of the subconscious,* trans. A. H. Brodrick (London, 1961), 23-5.

Opposite:
Fig. 8: Tibetan mandala, with Buddha Vairocana, the Illuminator, at centre
Photo after J. and M. Argüelles, Mandala

of St Paul, 'is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation; for in him all things were created, in heaven and in earth, visible and invisible; . . . all things were created through him and for him'. Colossians 1.15-20. Although the Christian notion of creation is not a divine emanation, still it involves a continuous action on the part of the Creator: all things would fall back into nothingness if God did not constantly maintain them in existence. This is precisely the way Gregory of Nyssa defines the term Pantokrator: God, he says, is Pantokrator, 'because he holds the orb of the earth in his palm, and he measures the depth of the sea with his hand; he includes in himself every spiritual creature in order that all might remain in existence, ruled by his all-containing power'.[21] The same line of thought appears in Pseudo-Denis' explanation of the Creed, composed for the lay public. God is called Pantokrator, 'because all things reside in him, he contains and embraces all, . . . he produces all things out of himself as a source that holds all and draws all things back to himself as a support that maintains all, he holds the universe as an all-container, . . . not allowing anything to slip away or be lost from place in its perfect abode'.[22] We should not overlook how graphically this 'all-container' aspect of the Creator is expressed in the Pantokrator image: placed in the concave cup of the dome he literally encompasses the world of the beholder below. The Pantokrator in the dome is the 'wrap-around' Christ.

Around the absolute One the *mandala* represents phases and modes by which his being is shared through the created world. In the corresponding zone of the Byzantine cosmogram we find the angelic powers, the 'messengers' who carry out the will of the Lord through the created world. Angels are depicted in satellite domes, when such exist, as in the grand cathedral of St Sophia in Kiev or in the humble rock-hewn church of Elmalı Kilise in Cappadocia. When the architecture involves only a single dome the angels usually occupy the zone of the drum just below the

21. Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium,* PG, 45, col. 524.
22. Pseudo-Denis, *De divinis nominibus,* PG, 3, X, i, col. 936. See other citations of this nature collected by C. Capizzi, *Pantokrator: saggio d'esegesi letterario-iconografica* (Rome, 1964), 51-81.

Pantokrator. Emperor Leo the Wise characterizes them as, 'His servitors whose being is higher than that of matter . . . the messengers of God's communications to men'.[23]

The meaning of the *mandala,* however, is twofold; according to Tucci, it is both *exoteric* and *esoteric.* More than a *cosmogram,* it is a *psychogram,* that is, it is not just a speculative diagram of the organization of the world but a scheme by which the devout seeks to escape the web of *maya,* to be transported out of the world of time and re-integrated into the One-All.[24] It is a tool of trans-formation. The aim is not an intellectual grasp of cosmic complexities but a real identification of the meditator with the Supreme Essence. Accordingly, the painted *mandala,* which is hung on a wall, has echoes in monumental temple plans and ceiling decorations, which the devout can enter physically, and has its remote origins in a life-size *mandala* which the initiate would draw around himself.[25] Tucci has described in detail the liturgy of this primitive drawn *mandala:* the care with which the site must be chosen, the purifications which the neophyte must undergo before entering the site, the omens to be observed, the yoga exercises prescribed, and the concentration necessary to achieve the final 'revulsion' and transferrence to another plane.[26]

It is in this realm of the esoteric mandala that the analogies to the Byzantine programme are most compelling. In the Byzantine programme, the place of the viewer is within the system, just as the place of the neophyte is within the *mandala.* By entering the church the believer 'put on Christ' (Galatians 3.27) in a very literal fashion, he was 'umbrella-ed' by him, he stood under him in hope of under-standing him. The nave of the Byzantine church was the congregation space par excellence. Krautheimer tried to represent the nave as space reserved for the clergy and court, but there are no barriers to reserve the nave and the Byzantine commentators on the Divine Liturgy leave no doubt that the nave

23. Leo VI, *Sermon XXXIV,* trans. Mango, *Art of the Byzantine empire,* 203.
24. Tucci, *Theory and practice of the mandala,* 28-9.
25. On the relationship of temple plans and ceiling decoration to mandalas, see Soper, 'Dome of Heaven'.
26. Tucci, *Theory and practice of the mandala,* 37-47.

was the space of the laity.[27] The dome crowns the people of God assembled to participate in the liturgy.

The meaning of the dome in Byzantine architecture, then, is tied up with the meaning of the image of the Pantokrator in the dome, and this image derives its meaning from the liturgical action that takes place beneath the dome. Entering the church meant placing oneself in the middle of a transformative symbol like the drawn *mandala*. While the liturgy of the Eucharist is quite different from that of the *mandala*, its goal is also a transformation, namely the transformation of the participant into Christ, just as the liturgy of the *mandala* has as its goal transformation into the Buddha or the Absolute. It was this dimension of the liturgy that most struck Carl Jung in his essay on 'Transformation Symbolism of the Mass'.[28] Unfortunately Jung's familiarity with the liturgy was restricted to the Latin mass, and the transformation symbolism he examined was that involved in transubstantiation, a perpetual preoccuation of Western theologians. Byzantine authors, however emphasize a transformation symbolism that is inherent in the basic twofold structure of the liturgy. The liturgical action is in essence: (1) enlightenment and (2) communion, and both of these processes have as their goal the intimate identification of the believer with Christ.

The first half of the liturgy is the liturgy of the word, an instruction in divine revelation. It is certainly significant that the invariable attribute of the Pantokrator is his Gospel book, for the solemn procession of the Gospel with candles and incense, the Little or First Entrance, is dramatically the high point of the

27. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine architecture*, 313: 'The congregation is relegated to the aisles, the exonarthex, and the galleries. The cross-domed centre bay, on the other hand becomes an anteroom to the sanctuary — a stage, as it were, visible to the faithful, but accessible only to the clergy'. The commentators, however, are quite clear in describing only one division in the church, and that is the templon screen separating the sanctuary from the nave; the former they call the place of the clergy and the latter the place of the people. For discussion of the relevant texts from Maximos and Germanos, see T.F. Mathews, *The early churches of Constantinople, architecture and liturgy* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1971), 121-2; Symeon of Thessalonika also locates the people in the nave: *De sacro templo*, c. 142, col. 352.

28. C.G. Jung, *Psychology and religion: west and east*, Collected Works, XI, (Princeton, 1958), c. 3, 'Transformation symbolism of the Mass'.

first half of the liturgy, and it takes place directly beneath the dome.[29] Furthermore, the reading of the Gospel that follows, which is the climax of the instruction, is performed by the deacon on the step before the *bema* underneath the dome.[30] The effect of the readings and the songs that accompanied them can be compared to the purification undertaken by the Indian ascetic in the liturgy of the *mandala*. In somewhat convoluted language Maximos the Confessor tells us, 'Broadly speaking, the holy Gospel is a reminder of the end of this world, but more particularly it declares the believers' utter rejection of the primordial error: the death and extermination of the law and mind of the flesh in active souls; and in the wise, who have completed the more detailed and complex study of natural philosophy, their association and transference of the many different causes of things to the most comprehensive of all'.[31] The reading of the Gospel, then, purifies the minds of the faithful and elevates them to their First Cause.

The inscriptions that occasionally accompany the Pantokrator are always revealing. In the Karanlık Kilise in Göreme one encounters a unique doubling of Pantokrator imagery. In the central dome the image is encircled by the verse from Psalm 53.2: 'God looks down from heaven upon the sons of men to see if there are any that are wise, that seek after God'. This is a gloomy psalm about the ignorance and darkness of evildoers; but this is only one side of the story, for the artist repeats the image of the Pantokrator in a second dome directly before the sanctuary

29. There is no foundation to Giordani's contention that Christ holds the book of judgement; the book of judgement is a scroll with seven seals which the Lord holds in his right hand (Rev. 5.1); the Pantokrator always carries a codex, it is in his left hand, and when it is open it shows a text from the Gospel, usually John, 8.11. Giordani, 'Mittelbyzantinische Ausschmückungssystem', 126. On the evolution of the First Entrance see Mathews, *Early churches of Constantinople*, 138-47.

30. In the early Byzantine liturgy the reading was done from an elevated ambo in the centre of the nave; the ambo disappeared in the medieval church and the readings took place as they do in contemporary orthodox usage on the step before the doors of the sanctuary which came to be called the ambo. Mathews, *Early churches of Constantinople*, 147-9; Symeon of Thessalonika, *De sacro templo*, c. 136, col. 346.

31. Maximos the Confessor, *Mystagogia*, trans. J. Stead, *The church, the liturgy and the soul of man: the Mystagogia of St Maximus the Confessor* (Still River, Mass., 1982), c. 24, 106.

(fig. 9), in which Christ now opens his book to show the text: 'I am the light of the world; he who follows me will not walk in darkness, but will have the light of life'. (John 8.12). This is the usual text that appears when Christ's book is shown open. The Pantokrator in the dome is the Illuminator leading his followers to the way of light.

The second half of the liturgy is the Eucharist, culminating in Communion which is also administred to the faithful underneath the dome on the step before the *bema*.[32] It is in Communion that the Christian comes closest, on this earth, to realizing the goal of Christian life: his identification with Christ and assimilation into him. This transformation symbolism is central to the meaning of the church building and to the Pantokrator image. According to Maximos, 'The holy reception of the immaculate and life-giving sacraments brings about a resemblance to Him, which effects a communion and identity with Him by participation, after which the human person is deemed fit to be changed out of a man into God . . . [Jesus Christ] transforms us into Himself. He rids us of the symptoms of corruption, and grants us the original, archetypal mysteries represented here to the senses under symbols'.[33]

Nicholas Kabasilas observes that unlike the reception of ordinary food which is transformed into the body of the consumer, the transformation works the other way in the sacrament; he who eats the Body and Blood of Christ is transformed into Christ, for 'the higher and divine element overcomes the earthly one'. In this context Nicholas invokes a most telling metaphor: 'When iron is placed in fire, it becomes fire; it does not, however, give the fire the properties of iron; and just as when we see white hot

32. The place of receiving Communion seems not to have changed from early Christian time through the Middle Ages. Mathews, *Early churches of Constantinople*, 172.
33. Maximos the Confessor, *Mystagogia*, trans. Stead, c. 24, 102-4.

Opposite:
Fig. 9: Göreme, Karanlık Kilise, 11th century, Pantokrator in the eastern cupola. Photo: N. Teteriatnikov, Dumbarton Oaks

iron it seems to be fire and not metal, since all the characteristics of iron have been destroyed by the action of fire, so if one could see the Church of Christ insofar as she is united to him and shares his sacred Body, one would see nothing other than the Body of the Lord.[34] This miraculous transformation of the Christian into his higher and more perfect self in Christ is the action that we must associate with the image of Christ in the dome. The Christ in the dome is the full, perfect self that the beholder becomes in Communion.

The passage of Kabasilas also reminds us of the essentially communal dimension of the Christian transformation: it is not just the individual but the 'Church of Christ' that is being united with Christ. For this reason the reception of communion is preceded by the by the priest's invocation, 'Holy things to the holy', to which the response is 'One is holy, one is Lord, Jesus Christ, in the glory of God the Father'. This verse is interpreted by Maximos as a presage of the future unity of the whole church in Christ. The inscription surrounding the Pantokrator sometimes refers to this community aspect of the mystery, as in the church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Mistra: 'Establish firmly those who trust in you, Lord, the church which you founded with your precious blood'. At Hagia Sophia in Trebizond the inscription which encircles the Pantokrator also alludes to his work in establishing the church, the new Jerusalem: 'The Lord has looked from heaven upon earth to hear the groans of the prisoners, to set free those who were doomed to die; that they might declare in Sion the name of the Lord and his praise in Jerusalem'. (Psalm 102, 19-21).

This process of transformation is the key to the symbolism of the Byzantine church. The Byzantine church was a very special kind of space laid out in rigorous centrality around a vertical well of light under the cup of the dome. The dome defined a magical space in which one encountered the divine. Here the worshipper found himself at the very centre of creation, on direct axis with his Lord overhead. One did not enter this space to work out puzzles in iconography but to be transformed or transported. The

34. Nicholas Kabasilas, *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy,* trans. Hussey and

experience must have been awesome, but in the final analysis it was not an experience of terror but of intimacy with Christ. We must remember that one of the commonest epithets of Christ in Byzantium was 'philanthropos', or 'lover of mankind'. This is precisely the way Nicholas Mesarites describes the image of the Pantokrator in the church of the Holy Apostles in Constaninople. Only half of the figure is visible, he says, 'because He dwells in heaven in the bosom of His Father, and wishes to associate with men on earth together with His Father, according to the saying, "I and my Father will come and make our abode with him". Wherefore He may be seen, to quote her who sings, looking forth through the window, leaning down to his navel through the lattice which is near the summit of the dome, after the manner of irresistibly ardent lovers'.[35] In a bold figure of speech borrowed from the Song of Solomon, Mesarites imagines Christ looking at men through a window, burning with a lover's desire to be united with his beloved. The Christ in the dome is the lover of mankind with whom one is united in the divine liturgy. As Maximos concludes his commentary on the process: 'By adoption and grace it is possible for them [*the participants*] to be and to be called gods, because all of God completely fills them, leaving nothing in them empty of his presence'.[36]

The psychological importance of this process can not be overlooked in a discussion of the meaning of the church building. In Jungian terms, *mandalas* are symbols of integration, psychological expressions of the totality of the self, of a wholeness toward which one strives.[37] Insofar as Christ is the perfect self whom the Christian must become, the Pantokrator in the dome

McNulty, c. 38, p. 91.

35. Nicholas Mesarites, *Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles,* 14, in Mango, *Art of the Byzantine empire,* 232. It is interesting that Mesarites entertains the notion that the Pantokrator might seem to be like a judge, only to dismiss it.

36. Maximos the Confessor, *Mystagogia,* trans. Stead, c. 21, 96.

37. C.G. Jung, *Mandala symbolism: the archtypes and the collective unconscious,* Collected Works, vol. 9/1 (Princeton, 1959). Jung returns to mandala symbolism often in his work; cf. his commentary in R. Wilhelm, *The Secret of the Golden Flower* (New York, 1932); also C.G. Jung, *Psychology and religion* (New Haven, 1938), 66-70.

is the ideal Christian *mandala*.[38] It is regrettable that Jung, whose knowledge of religions ranged from China to pre-conquest America, was apparently un-aware of this East Christian development.

38. C.J. Jung, *Aion: researches into the phenomenology of the self*, Collected Works, vol. 1/2 (Princeton, 1959), c. 5: 'Christ, a symbol of the self'.

Psychological Dimensions in the Art of Eastern Christendom

The profound cultural chasm between Western and Eastern Christendom in the Middle Ages is nowhere more striking than in their respective attitudes toward art. In spite of the enormous proliferation of images in the decoration of the cathedrals of the West, there is a singular dearth of serious reflection among Latin authors on the relationship of art to religion, and what writing exists on the subject tends to denigrate the role of art. The famous letter of Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) is characteristic. Significantly, Gregory spells out his view of the role of art not in the context of any synodal decree or encyclical letter to the church, but only in a brief disciplinary note to the bishop of Marseille who had begun destroying sacred images.

> It has been brought to our attention that, inflamed by thoughtless zeal, that you are destroying the images of saints under the pretext that they ought not to be worshipped. And indeed that you have prevented their being worshipped we sincerely applaud; but that you have destroyed them we censure... It is one thing to worship a picture, it is another to learn through the picture's story what is to be worshipped. For what writing supplies to readers painting offers to uneducated viewers; for in painting even the ignorant can see what course they should follow, and in painting the illiterate can read.[1]

According to Gregory, no educated person ought to be interested in images, and no person, regardless of his education, ought to worship them. Images are a didactic aid for instructing the illiterate.

Some reflection of Gregory's attitude may be found half a millennium later in very severe denunciation of images by Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153). Criticizing the use of images in a monastic setting, Bernard allows that a different norm would have to be applied to a cathedral church: "Bishops have an excuse which monks have not; for we know that they, being debtors both to the wise and the unwise, and unable to excite the devotion of carnal folk by spiritual things, do so by bodily adornments."[2]

[1] *Epistola xxii ad Serenum Massiliensem episcopum PL 77*, 1128. A rather loose translation of the pertinent passages can be found in Caecilia Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art, 300-1150, Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1971), 47-49.

[2] "*Apologia* to William, Abbot of St. Thierry," in G.G. Coulton, *Life in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1967), vol. 4, 172.

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Art is classed with the blocks and baubles of the nursery: perhaps the sluggish peasant mind will yet learn one or two lines of the catechism if we make it gaudy enough.

Such an attitude is by no means adequate to explain the rich phenomena of medieval art in the West; any reader of Mâle or Katzenellenbogen must conclude that the facade programs of Gothic cathedrals were designed rather for scholastic philosophers than unlettered peasants.[3] Yet, whatever the level of instruction, a didactic intent seems to pervade medieval art in the West. I will not theorize about the causes of such an attitude; rather I would like to invite your attention to Eastern Christendom where speculation on the relation of art to religion took a much different and more serious turn. Perhaps never has art been assigned more exalted roles than it was in Eastern Christendom. These roles, or uses of religious art, are considerably more diverse than we generally imagine. Approaching art with the mentality of a museum tour-guide, we want to classify the works by period styles and label all the saints and their attributes. But label information says little about the real content of medieval art. I would like to suggest that we might come out with a better understanding of the material if we asked instead what was the religious role of the art work. I would like to ask, what was the image meant to accomplish psychologically? How did it affect the beholder? In what frame of mind was it approached? My reflections on this subject are neither systematic nor comprehensive, but perhaps they are of some use in considering the relationship of art and religion. There are three different situations I would like to discuss, and in each situation the art work functions on a far more sophisticated level than the didactic purpose that a Western theologian might have assigned it.

1.

The first situation to which I would like to invite your attention has been conspicuously neglected by art historians. I refer to the decorated canon tables at the opening of the gospels (Fig. 1). The primary purpose of the canon tables was a practical one, that is, to provide the serious reader with a key by which he could find his way through the overlapping material provided by the four different versions of the life of Christ. This cross-index system was invented by Eusebius of Caesarea, in Palestine, early in the fourth century, and quickly became an integral part of the standard edition of the four gospels, in Greek and all the other languages into which they were translated. While earlier attempts to harmonize the four gospels ended up mutilating the texts to make them fit together, Eusebius devised a mathematical solution that respected the integrity of

[3]Cf. E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France* (Paris, 1922); idem, *L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France* (Paris, 1910); Adolph Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral* (Baltimore, 1959).

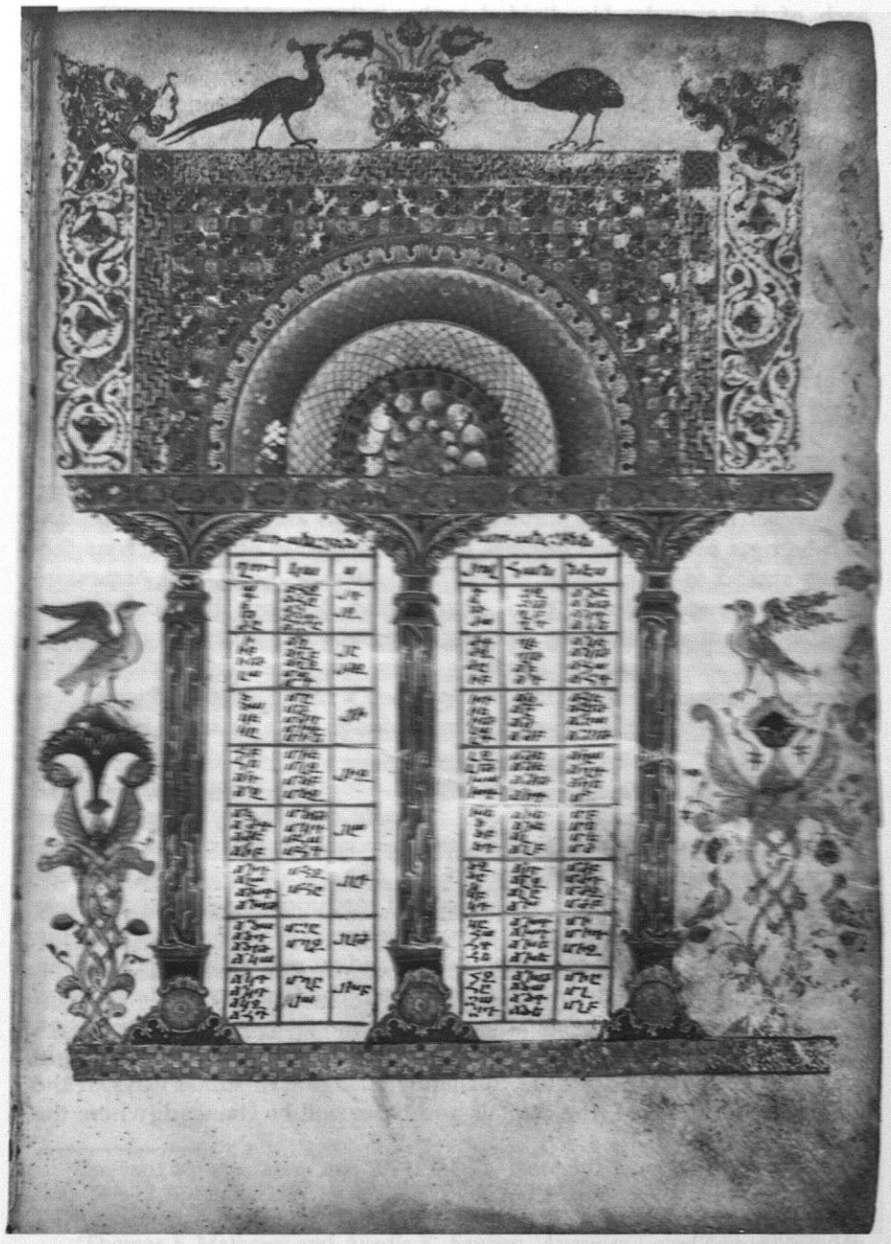


Fig. 1. The Tenth Canon Table, Freer MS 44.17, fol. 11 (1253 A.D.). Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

each of the gospels. He divided each of the gospels into numbered sections, and he sorted out the sections according to whether they occurred in all the gospels, in only three or two, or were unique to a single gospel. It was then possible for him to arrange these numbers into a series of ten tables. So much for the tables themselves; but what of their decoration?

Carl Nordenfalk has demonstrated that the decorated canon tables are one of the earliest Christian contributions to the art of book illumination.[4] Throughout the Middle Ages these pages were richly embellished with a wide variety of motifs of some symbolic importance—birds and fruit, flowers and trees, altars and fountains; the interpretation of this iconography, however, poses special problems and perhaps for this reason the subject has been generally ignored.[5] I propose to deal simply with one East Christian tradition of canon tables, the Armenian.

The Armenian tradition of canon table decoration occupies a special place in medieval art. As Nordenfalk has argued, the Armenian tradition presents us with examples of canon tables that stand closer to the Eusebian archetype than any other surviving manuscripts and only the Armenian manuscripts preserve the original 10-page format; in other traditions the set is spread to 12 or more pages. In the second place, the Armenian tradition, especially during the Cilician period, develops the decoration of the tables with unparalleled richness of motifs and luxury of materials. And finally, as we shall see, it is only within the Armenian tradition that a genre of literature develops that is concerned with the interpretation of the symbolic content of the tables. This provides us with a unique key to the function of canon table decoration.

One should notice that in the typical Armenian Gospel book the 10 decorated pages actually occupy 20 pages of parchment. Because of the artists' preference for painting on the hair side of the parchment, two blank pages intervene between each pair of decorated pages—an expensive procedure that doubles the amount of parchment needed to complete the set. The parchment chosen is usually a more expensive vellum than the rest of the manuscript—smoother, whiter and more supple—emphasizing further the special importance of these pages. The 10 pages are designed as five pairs. Facing pages mirror one another in overall layout, in the design of the headpieces, and in the disposition of trees and symbols. In particulars, however, they are constantly changing in subtle ways. If the columns are repeated, the capitals and bases will be changed; where the

[4]Carl Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln, Kunstgeschichtliche Studien über die eusebianische Evangelien-Konkordanz in den ersten Jahrhunderten ihrer Geschichte* (Goteborg, 1938).

[5]Speculation on the meaning of the canon tables has chiefly focused on the "tempietto" page of some of the early medieval canon tables. This page, which features a little classical temple, is generally omitted from canon tables after the eleventh century. See discussion and bibliography in Klaus Wessel, "Kanontafeln," *Reallexikon zur byzantinische Kunst* 3, 927-68.

design of the headpiece is repeated, the decorative field within changes pattern; and when patterns remain constant, new color combinations are introduced. The result is a diversity that invites the viewer to endless exploration.

Interpretation of these pages has generally focused on individual symbols. For example, one might start by identifying the birds. Some of these are fairly obvious; one can distinguish peacocks, herons, doves, roosters and partridges, and sometimes ducks and magpies can be identified. But what can one make of such an assortment? The interpretation of this repertoire is complicated by the fact that the sequence admits of great variation from manuscript to manuscript, and by the fact that a great many other birds appear which have no place in the annals of ornithology. The caged bird that appears in the tenth century Ējmiacin Gospel is an ancient neo-platonic symbol for the confinement of the soul in the body; but it is hard to verify that meaning in this manuscript and the motif is not used in other Armenian manuscripts.[6] Birds at a fountain seem also to be symbolic, but how specific is the symbol meant to be? The nub of the problem is the apparent arbitrariness of the decorative motifs; the order and associations of the motifs are constantly scrambled. The difficulty is that we tend to approach this material in a Western frame of mind, expecting to assign tidy labels to separate elements, all of which are going to add up to an integrated whole—like a program of the four cardinal virtues or the seven sacraments. No such tight logic seems operative in the Armenian canon tables.

Fortunately, we have literary sources that shed some light on this problem. There exist two Armenian commentaries on the canon tables, one of them fragmentary, which I will be publishing in my *Armenian Gospel Iconography* in a translation prepared by James Russell of Columbia University.[7] The more helpful of the two documents is the commentary by St. Nersēs Šnorhali, catholikos of Armenia (+1175). Nersēs was a theologian of considerable accomplishment who entered into dialogue with the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenus on the possibility of union between the Greek and Armenian churches and did much to define the distinctive theological position of the Armenians. His commentary on the canon tables stands as preface to his *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, as if the study of the tables is a necessary prelude to the study of the Gospel.

[6]Erevan, Matenadaran, ms. 2374, fol. 2v, Nordenfalk, *op.cit.* plate 18. Other examples of Armenian canon tables can be found in Nordenfalk or in Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art* (London, 1978).

[7]Thomas F. Mathews and Avedis K. Sanjian, *Armenian Gospel Iconography: The Tradition of the Glajor Gospel of U.C.L.A.*, to appear in 1986. The translation of Nersēs Šnorhali's "Interpretation Concerning the Ten Canon Tables," will be cited here simply by paragraph number. The Armenian text can be found in Nersēs Šnorhali and Yovhannes Erznkacʿi, *Meknutʿiwn Surb Awetaranin or ast Mattʿēosi* (Constantinople, 1825), 5-12.

In his first paragraphs Nersēs tries to define the way the viewer ought to approach the canon tables. What the gospels teach, Nersēs begins, is that in spite of the fallen state in which we find him, "man is the image of God, and Paradise is his habitation, and the Tree of Life is the occasion of his immortality."[8] It is the recollection of this mystery that leads man to desire the food immortal, which is Christ. The first and most encompassing symbolism of the canon tables is paradisiac.

> The Garden (is) understood as having erected at its center the Tree of Life, for from the house of the Lord that water is caused to spring which flows in life everlasting; it is this which is walled around, not by the terrifying fire and the flaming Seraphic sword, but by the luxurious floral pictures and colorful, splendid ornament in the form of the drawing of the canon table.[9]

It would be a mistake, however, to expect the tables to represent the Garden of Paradise in any literal or systematic fashion. One should not look for the walls of Paradise, or the gate, or the four rivers, details that appear from time to time in narrative representations of the book of Genesis.The symbolism of the canon tables, according to Nersēs Šnorhali, functions on quite a different level, a level defined by St. Paul as the "secret and hidden wisdom of God" (1 Cor. 2:7). It is of the essence of this symbolism to remain concealed.

In an aesthetic thesis of great importance for the study of art of Eastern Christendom, Nersēs proposes that the world of experience may be divided into two classes of objects, the necessary and the pleasurable or sensuous.[10] Now generally when Christian authors draw distinctions between the sensible and the intellectual it is to depreciate the sensible. Alongside of Gregory the Great and Bernard of Clairvaux one might cite the bishop Hypatius of Ephesus writing on images during the reign of the emperor Justinian.

> For our part, we take no pleasure whatever in any sculpture or painting. However, we permit simple folk, inasmuch as they are less perfect, to learn such things in an introductory manner by means of sight, which is appropriate to their natural development, having found on many occasions that even the old and new ordinances of God may be brought down to the level of the weaker for the sake of their spiritual salvation.[11]

To Nersēs Šnorhali the situation is exactly the opposite; these pleasures of sense in the canon tables are designed not for simple folk but for the perfected (ones) or the initiate. In the canon tables, he says,

[8]*Ibid.*, "Interpretation," 1.
[9]*Ibid.*, "Interpretation," 3.
[10]*Ibid.*, "Interpretation," 3.
[11]Cyril Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453, Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), 117.

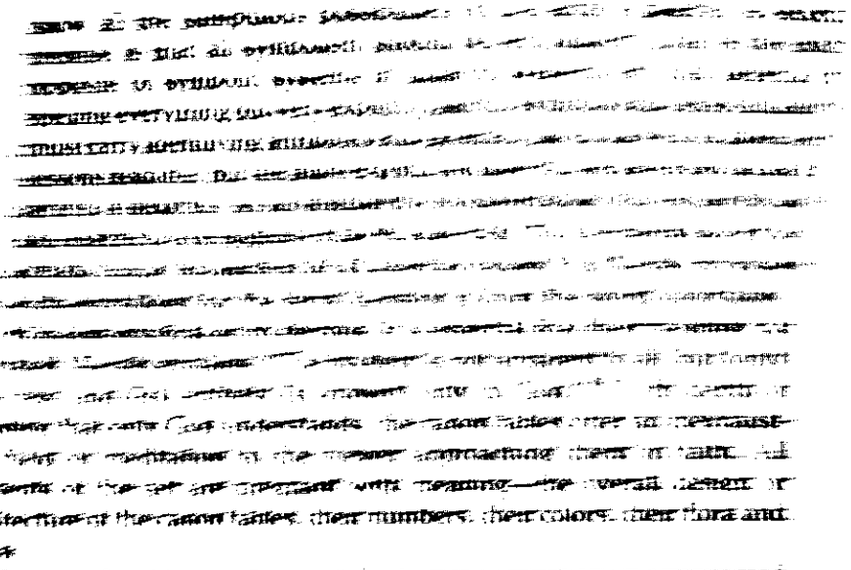
> the creation of certain plants, and little birds, and the ordering of tables and columns and flowers possess within themselves profound mysteries, unrevealed meanings, and hidden ingenuities which are not to be passed by in vain, for all that is in the world may be divided into two parts: important (things), and pleasures. The important (things) are (the) necessary, such as light, air and earth, and the bread from it, and the springs of the waters cannot exist without it. And pleasures are (those) luxuries and soft things, such as wine, fruit, spices, (fine) cookery, bright colors, and sounds pleasing to the ear, which are the luxuries of the senses: pleasure and repose. But even (those things) which are not accounted important are of great utility to perfected (ones), when by this manifest color, taste, smell, hearing and rest we ascend to the spiritual, and to the rational enjoyment (of) the good tidings of God which eye has not seen and ear has not heard and which the heart of man has not recalled, which God (has) prepared for His loved ones. (Cf. I Cor. 2:9).[12]

The viewing of the canon tables, then, is a preparation for the reading of the gospel itself. Nersēs returns to this argument at the end of his "Interpretations." The flowering meadows of the canon tables are an evangelical preparation for the gospel. Drawing an analogy with the encampment of the Israelites at Sinai when they were required to wash and purify themselves before being admitted to the awesome vision of the Lord, Nersēs characterized the canon tables as "baths of the sight and hearing for those approaching the soaring peaks of God."[13] By washing his eyes in the sensuous beauty of these 10 pages, the reader was to prepare himself spiritually for the greater vision which follows in the text of the gospel.

Clearly the image use that Nersēs has in mind for the canon tables is neither didactic nor cultic; there are no discursive lessons to be learned from this art form nor is one encouraged to use it as a vehicle of one's worship, like icons. Rather he sees the canon tables as a kind of instrument of contemplation; it is a visual aid for meditation, a means of preparing the soul by removing distractions. By focusing the viewer's visual attention on largely abstract forms and colors, the canon tables were meant to focus the powers of his soul on the central mysteries of Christian revelation.

Psychologically this is a most interesting role to assign the art work. Such an art is built on premises that we are not used to accepting in our study of Western medieval art. The first premise, of course, is the frank acceptance of the sensual. Released from the needs of illustrating this or that specific subject, the artist found himself free to explore the limits of his craft in intricacy of pattern and richness of color. Colors are displayed both in their highest intensities and in the widest range of their mixed shades. The purpose of the mosaic rainbows and chevron designs is to

[12]Mathews and Sanjian, *Armenian Gospel Iconography*, "Interpretation," 3.
[13]*Ibid.*, "Interpretation," 17.



The overall architectural design of columns supporting an ornamented headpiece is called *xoran* in Armenian, which we saw means basically a tent or canopy. But the beauty of this word in Armenian is that it has many other possibilities. In the Old Testament it can mean ark, whether one is speaking of Noah's ark or the ark of the covenant; it can also be used for altar or tabernacle in many situations in which those terms are called for. In a specifically Christian context it can be used to designate either the altar, or the sanctuary, or the canopy of the church, that is, its dome. This range of meanings in the term *xoran* suggests to Nersês Šnorhali that the 10 canon tables can be seen as a progression of divine dwellings. The first three tables, he suggests, are the heavenly dwelling of the Holy Trinity, ringed about by the nine choirs of angels in three ranks of three. Succeeding tables are: the Garden of Paradise, the ark of Noah, the altar of Abraham, the inner and outer courts of the tabernacle of Moses, the temple of Solomon, and finally the holy catholic Church which is the heavenly Jerusalem.[15] In other words, all the mysteries of salvation history are abstractly encompassed in the ten canon tables.

Within this overall framework it becomes possible for the pious mind to assign meanings to various colors, flora and fauna. However, there seems to be a great deal of leeway in this kind of symbolism. For example, Nersês interprets the peacocks as angels, a connection that was doubtless suggested by the many eyes of their tails and Ezekiel's description of angels as "full of eyes" (Ez. 10:12).[16] This would seem appropriate when

[14] *Ibid.*, "Interpretation," 6.
[15] *Ibid.*, "Interpretation," 5-16.
[16] *Ibid.*, "Interpretation," 8.

the peacocks appear in the first canon tables; but when they show up in later tables, perhaps one ought to invoke the meaning assigned them in an earlier commentary in which they typify the vanity of the Jews in the Old Testament who regarded externals but not the substance of devotion.[17] So too the date-palms in one context can suggest by their height and sweet fruit the lofty natures of angels and their sweet blessings, while in another context they can suggest the root of the house of David.[18] As an instrument of contemplation, the canon tables offered an endless field. The beholder was meant to enter into these pages in quite a different fashion from his experience of the icon.

2.

The icon, the Byzantine religious image par excellence (Fig. 2). The classic statement of the purpose of the icon is that which was formulated at the Second Council of Nicaea (787).

> We define with all certitude and care that alongside the figure of the precious and life-giving cross there are to be placed venerable and holy images (i.e., icons)... in holy churches of God, on holy vessels and vestments, on the walls and on tablets (or panels), in homes and on the streets—the image of our Lord God and Savior, Jesus Christ, of our undefiled Lady the Mother of God, of the holy angels and all the saints and holy men. For the more often they are beheld through the representation of images, the more the beholders are stirred to remember and desire their prototypes, and to render them greeting *(aspasmos)* and worship *(proskynesis)*, not however true adoration *(latreia)*, which according to our faith is due the divine nature alone.[19]

Although it would certainly have scandalized Pope Gregory, the primary purpose of the icon, in the mind of the fathers of the council, was worship. The icon was a sort of telecommunication apparatus by which one could transmit his veneration to whichever of the heavenly court one chose. An old saying of Saint Basil is dragged in over and over in this connection. "The respect showed to the image (and he is referring to statues of the emperors) is accorded to its prototype."[20]

The council, however, makes a curious reservation by excepting true adoration *(latreia)*. This clause would apply, of course, only to images of Christ, for there would be no question of adoring the saints. But by making this exception the council seems to admit of some sort of static in the transmitter that prevents it from carrying true adoration. This requires an explanation which is wanting in the council itself but can be found in the

[17] *Ibid.*, "Commentary of Stepcanos Siwnecci.
[18] *Ibid.*, "Interpretation," 8 and 14.
[19] Iohannes Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XIII, 377-80.
[20] *De Spiritu Sancto*, 18.45, *PG* 32, 1249.

Fig. 2. Icon of the Archangel Michael (14th century). Courtesy of the Byzantine Museum, Athens.

theologians on whom the council depended. The question is not simply one of speculative theology; it is a question of the confidence with which the devout can make use of this communication apparatus, and therefore it is a psychological question as well.

The theologians who toiled over this problem, namely St. John Damascene and St. Theodore Studites, reached a position of uncompromising logic and extraordinary psychological implications. To understand the nature of image, Theodore Studites scrutinizes side by side two situations: what he calls the *natural* image relationship of the Son to the Father in Christian theology, and the *artificial* image relationship of the icon of Christ to Christ himself (Table 1).[21] As the same adoration is due to Son and Father, because they share the same Divine Nature though differing in person, so the same reverence is due to the icon of Christ as to Christ himself. "The very same person is being worshipped, even though he has been circumscribed (literally, drawn) in the icon."[22] As the worship of the Trinity does not involve polytheism, because the divine nature is one, so the worship of Christ's image does not involve idolatry, because the person is one. "Thus in the veneration of the icon of Christ," he concludes, "there is involved the one same reverence and glorification of the all honored and blessed Trinity."[23] Then, one might conclude, one is really offering *latreia* to the icon. Not exactly, answers Theodore, because it is not the substance of the icon that is being worshipped, but "Christ is worshipped in it."[24] In other words, the painting is a perfectly transparent medium which offers not the least bleep or flutter in its transmission; if Christ himself were to descend and stand beside the icon there is no fervor of devotion that the

Table 1. Theodore Studites' Analogy.

	Natures	Persons	Reverence due
The natural image: God, the Father & Son	The same: Divine Nature	Different: Father & Son	The same
The painted image: Christ & the icon of Christ	Different: Divinity & Wood	Same Divine Person: Christ	The same

[21] *Epistola ad Platonem de cultu sacrarum imaginum*, *PG* 99, 500-505.
[22] *Ibid.*, 504.
[23] *Ibid.*, 504.
[24] *Ibid.*, 505. St. Thomas Aquinas understood this argument perfectly and did not hesitate to affirm that *latreia* should be offered the image of Christ. *Summa Theologiae*, pars III, qu. 25. a.3.

[illegible] show him [illegible]

[illegible] cul level remote from the discourse of the ordinary citizen: the same basic notion of how the icon works can be found in popular expressions as well. There survives a wonderful eight-line dedicatory epigram by the poet Agathias (ca. 530/32-579/82) that was inscribed around a no-longer extant icon of St. Michael the Archangel.[25] The epigram gives eloquent testimony to the extraordinary transparent quality of the icon and takes us a step beyond the texts of the theologians in exploring the psychological dimensions of the art work. The inscription deserves a brief line-by-line exegesis.[26]

> The wax, greatly daring, has represented the invisible, the incorporeal chief of the angels in the semblance of his form.

The poet is struck by the curious paradox of the situation, that so lowly an ingredient as wax, the medium of the ancient encaustic painting, could contain the immaterial form of an angel. Since the Divine could be represented in icon only because in the Incarnation God had taken on the form of a man, the representation of angels posed a special problem for the Byzantine theologian. Still they did not dodge the issue. According to John, the seventh-century bishop of Thessalonike, angels were "spiritual but not altogether incorporeal and invisible...rather (they have) a fine body of an aerial or fiery nature, as it is written; 'Who maketh his angels winds, his ministers a flaming fire' (Ps. 103/104:4). True, compared to us they are invisible; yet they have often been seen sensually by many persons in the form of their own bodies—by those whose eyes God has opened."[27] The icon then, does not present an arbitrary version of an angel, but shows how Michael appeared when he revealed himself to men. The epigram continues,

> Yet it (the work of painting) was no thankless (task) since the mortal man who beholds the image directs his mind to a higher contemplation. His veneration is no longer distracted...

The first function of the icon is to focus the mind and attention of the worshipper. The Greek expression for distracted is literally "one thing-after-the-other". In contrast to our usual discursive modes of thought, the contemplation of the icon induces a singleness of concentration.

> His veneration is no longer distracted, engraving within himself the archangel's traits, he trembles as if he were in the latter's presence.

[25] *The Greek Anthology*, I, 34, *Loeb Classical Library*, trans. W.R. Paton (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), 1, 20-23.

[26] I am using the excellent translation by Cyril Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 115.

[27] Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 140.

So far our discussion has revolved around the relationship of the painted image to its prototype; but for this communication process to be completed, the image must enter deep into the psyche of the beholder (Table 2). It is only when the image has been engraved within the beholder that he really senses the presence of the person in the icon. Then indeed the *tremendum* takes possession of him and "he trembles as if he were in the [archangel's] presence." This interior image deserves greater attention in our discussions of Byzantine image theory, for it is here that the creation of the icon is sometimes said to begin. In a number of Byzantine legends, the artist, in a quandary as to how to proceed with a given icon, dreams that he sees the saint and goes on to paint the image according to his dream.[28] Those who actually know the saint in his lifetime then testify that the image the painter made corresponds in every detail to the prototype.

> The eyes encourage deep thoughts, and art is able by means of colors to ferry over [to its object] the prayers of the mind.

Another translator catches another nuance of the epigram: "The eyes stir up the depths of the spirit."[29] It is very curious that modern man tends to close his eyes to achieve concentration in prayer; the Byzantine worshipper opened his eyes and stared with fixed gaze until his soul was shaken to its depths. Having received the image, the beholder can answer with his own worship; the telecommunication apparatus works in both directions. But notice the way the poet has phrased this. Ordinarily we think of the colors as the means by which the image of the prototypes is made present before the eyes of the viewer; to Agathias the opposite is also true, the colors will carry your prayers back to the prototype.

The psychological dimensions of the icon could be pursued much further, but perhaps these considerations suggest something of how the Byzantine beholder interacted with the image. While a didactic image might appeal to the intellect, an icon appealed to the entire person, evoking the kind of response due to another person. Confident of the reliability of the medium, the beholder could enter through the icon into immediate communion with the sacred.

Table 2. The Triple Image.

The Prototype	The Material Image	The Interior Image
The Archangel Michael	The Icon of Michael	The image of Michael engraved in the mind of the beholder

[28] *Ibid.*, 210-13.

[29] *The Greek Anthology*, trans. W.R. Paton, 23.

3.

The last situation I would like to examine might be thought of as a special instance of the icon, that is, the image of Christ the Pantokratōr in the dome (Fig. 3). The dome is the principal theme of Byzantine architecture. For a thousand years Byzantine architects played with varieties in dome design—smooth or ribbed or scalloped, supported on arches, squinches, pendentives, groin vaults, barrel vaults or semidomes, over-ground plans that show a wonderful variety of pure geometric forms—squares, circles, octagons, crosses, rosettes. Over all this development, at least from the ninth century, there presided the forceful figure of the Pantokratōr placed in the summit of the dome as in the corona of some exotic flower. Like other icons this image relays to the viewer the features of its prototype; but its placement in the dome takes the Pantokratōr out of the general class of icons and puts it in a category by itself. It does not lend itself to the same kind of intimacy with the viewer that characterizes the ordinary use of icons. The viewer's worship of an icon is usually described as *aspasmos*, which means a kiss, or as *proskynesis*, which means prostrating oneself before the image; but the Pantokratōr in the dome is too remote to kiss, and if the viewer were to prostate himself in *proskynesis* beneath the dome he would turn his back on the image. The image denies the viewer that kind of relationship.

At the highest point in the nave of the church, the Pantokratōr is also at the apex of the decorative program that unfolds on the vaults and walls below. All the activity of the great Life of Christ panels around the nave—Christ being born and laboring and suffering and dying and rising—comes to rest in the quiet and commanding figure of Christ in the dome. But while this figure is the culmination of the iconography of the church, it is also the most difficult to analyze. The simplicity of the image, paradoxically, makes it the more difficult to discuss. With few variations the Pantokratōr motif consists of the bust figure of Jesus Christ, labelled with his monogram, within a medallion; with his right hand the Lord blesses while in his left he holds a closed book. To the frustration of the iconographer, all story-telling interests have been rigorously banned from the image. This makes it difficult for the art historian to deal with the image, and Klaus Wessel has gone so far as to assert that the image is in fact indefinable.[30]

Demus, in confronting this problem, turned from iconographic method to a form analysis of the figure.[31] The results, however, are not very enlightening, nor are they entirely reliable. Demus proposed that the Pantokratōr image in the dome is really just an abbreviation of the

[30]Klaus Wessel, "Christusbild: Der Pantokratōr," *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, I, 1014-20.

[31]Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration, Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium* (London, 1948), 19-22.

Fig. 3. The Pantokratōr, fresco in the rock-cut church of Elmali Kilise, Cappadocia, Turkey (12th century). Courtesy of Natalia Teteriatnikov, the Institute of Fine Arts, N.Y.U.

Ascension theme which, he supposed, dominated pre-iconoclast examples as at Hagia Sophia of Thessaloni. Formally, he argued, the new image fitted better in the spatial system of the Middle Byzantine church. Demus described this evolution as "the substitution of abridged symbols for complete versions."

> Iconographically it means the preponderance of abstract over concrete, of idea over event; formally the reduction of the composition to its innermost core, its most simplified form, which allowed of a highly abstract treatment, of perfect symmetry and absolute clarity.[32]

In the process of abbreviation, according to Demus, the meaning of the image has not really changed; it has simply been lifted out of its narrative context.

I am not sure that this correctly describes the evolution that took place. The iconography of the Pantokratōr image was certainly fully developed already in pre-iconoclast times and was given wide circulation on the coinage of Justinian II at the end of the seventh century. Its initial appearance has nothing to do with the iconography of the Ascension; as

[32]*Ibid.*, 20-21.

Grabar points out, the coin image of the Pantokratōr is essentially meant to underscore the *pietas* of the emperor.[33] On the reverse we find Christ's vicar, the emperor himself, with the inscription "Iustinianus servus Christi", "Justinian, the servant of Christ". It is significant that the Pantokratōr is subsequently dropped from imperial coinage only to reappear very suddenly with the coming of Michael III and the Macedonians, exactly contemporary with its first appearance in dome decoration.[34] I propose, therefore, that the appearance of the Pantokratōr in the dome should not be described as an abbreviation of Ascension iconography but as an outright substitution of an already well-defined iconographic type for the Ascension or whatever other images may have preceded it in dome decorations.

Demus is correct in emphasizing the non-narrative nature of the Pantokratōr image, but if the image represents the victory of idea over event one still must ask what is the *idea* that has won out. Did Byzantines go on repeating this image for centuries from end to end of the empire simply for want of imagination, or was it, as I like to believe, because they found so much meaning in it? If the iconography is so simple that it defies discursive analysis, can we not at least say something about its psychological impact on the viewer? How was the viewer expected to react to the image? Is Christ's commanding gaze meant to be stern or gracious; should we tremble at the vision or melt with joy; are we being threatened by the Lord or invited? Western art historians have consistently found a terrible severity in the Pantokratōr. To Talbot Rice the Pantokratōr of Daphni is "not the tender human Jesus of Western thought, but rather a strange awesome figure akin to the Old Testament Jehovah."[35] [illegible] effect this is no [illegible] of the Gospel, the sweet and tender Saviour, it is the Creator, the master of the world, the Pantokratōr.[36] To the contemporary Western eye it is a remote, uncompromising figure pronouncing harsh sentence on the world. But is that the way it was regarded by the Byzantine beholder?

Now it is a cardinal rule of modern scholarship that one is not allowed to overstep the discipline in which one has been certified, and an art historian should therefore not try to speak about psychology, because only psychologists are allowed to do that. But I am going to break the rule by suggesting that we look at the Pantokratōr for a while as an image of the self in a Jungian sense. The justification or refutation of Carl Jung's theory

[33]André Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Strasbourg, 1936), 19.

[34]Cf. Warwick Wroth, *Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, 2 vols. (London, 1908), pl. XLIX. I interpret the inscription of Basil I (867-86) in Hagia Sophia as attestation of the introduction of an image of the Pantokratōr in the dome of the church. Cf. Cyril Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington, 1962), 63-66.

[35]David Talbot Rice, *Art of the Byzantine Era* (New York, 1963), 90.

[36]Charles Diehl, *Manuel d'art Byzantin* (Paris, 1910), 456.

of archetypes and the collective unconscious I will leave to psychologists. I would like to observe, however, that many of his reflections on the *mandala* as an image of the self have a counterpart that he was evidently quite unaware of in the image of the Pantokratōr in the dome.[37] His observations on how such a symbol works are to a certain extent borne out by historical sources touching on the image we are analyzing.

The Sanskrit word *mandala* means circle, and the term is used to describe a ritual circle made for contemplation.[38] In Indian art the circle is occupied by Buddha or Shiva, the timeless beginning of creation, and the circle is placed within a square containing the four opposite directions of the created world. Now, I don't imagine that the image of the Pantokratōr derives from Buddhist *mandalas*, but nothing could be more obvious than the fact that the Byzantine composition places the image of timeless Christ within a circle and the circle is within a square which is alligned with the four directions of creation (Fig. 4). It is also abundantly clear that the end of the Christian life is identification with Christ; Christ is the true self that the Christian is to clothe himself in. The Pantokratōr in the dome, I would conclude, is not the Old Testament Jehovah, nor is it Christ as judge, nor is it Christ as remote cosmic ruler; it is Christ who is so close to the viewer that he is inside him, for it is the true self, whole and complete, which the Christian is always becoming.

That is my theory. But does the theory work? Does it fit the situation or explain any of the attendant phenomena? In the first place one must consider the location of the image and its liturgical circumstances. For while the placement of the image in the dome removes it from everyday use as an icon, it places it in direct relation to the action that takes place under the dome. The central space of Byzantine architecture, over which the image of the Pantokratōr presides, is basically the congregation's space, it is the place of their participation in the Divine Liturgy, culminating in their reception of Holy Communion. Communion is the goal of Christian life, for it effects by sacrament the transformation of the communicant into Christ. At the moment of communion the priest calls out, "The holy to the holy," meaning the *holy* gifts of the Body and Blood of Christ are now offered to the *holy* members of the church. To this the response of the choir is, "One is holy, one is Lord, Jesus Christ, in the glory of God the Father. Amen," implying that the many members of the church are holy only insofar as they are assimilated into the one holy Lord in Communion.[39]

[37]Carl G. Jung, *Mandala Symbolism: The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious, Collected Works*, 9, part 1. Jung returns to mandala symbolism often in his work; cf. *Psychology and Religion* (New Haven, 1938), 66-70; or cf. Jung's commentary in Richard Wilhelm, *The Secret of the Golden Flower* (New York, 1932).

[38]Giuseppe Tucci, *The Theory and Practice of the Mandala, With Special Reference to the Modern Psychology of the Subconscious* (London, 1961).

[39]F.W. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (London, 1896), 341.

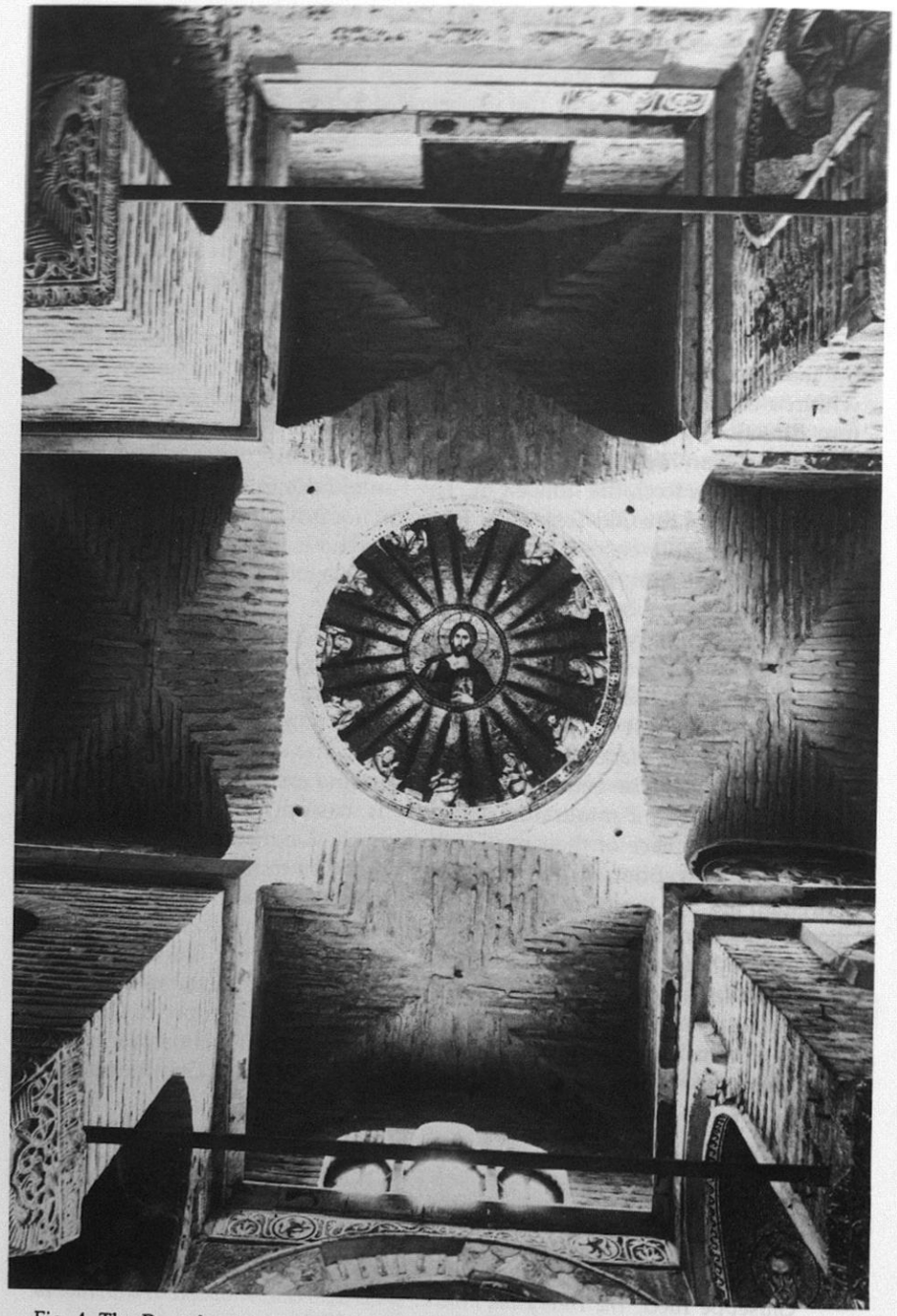


Fig. 4. The Pantokratōr, mosaic in the church of the Mother of God Pammakaristos, Istanbul, Turkey (shortly after 1310 A.D.). Photo Thomas F. Mathews.

In commenting on the reception of communion, Nicholas Cabasilas observes that unlike the reception of ordinary food in which the food is transformed into the body of the one who is eating, the transformation works the other way in the sacrament; he who eats the Body and Blood of Christ is transformed into Christ, for "the higher and divine element overcomes the earthly one." In this context Nicholas invokes a most telling metaphor.

> When iron is placed in the fire, it becomes fire; it does not, however, give the fire the properties of iron; and just as when we see white-hot iron it seems to be fire and not metal, since all the characteristics of iron have been destroyed by the action of the fire, so if one could see the Church of Christ insofar as she is united to him and shares his sacred Body, one would see nothing other than the Body of the Lord.[40]

This miraculous transformation of the Christian into his higher and more perfect self in Christ is the action that we must associate with the image of Christ in the dome. The Christ in the dome is the full perfect self that the beholder becomes in communion.

Beyond the liturgical circumstances, one ought also to note the overtones carried by the name of the image, Pantokratōr, for this too reinforces our reading of the image as a summit of the dome in Middle Byzantine art; it is given the special title Pantokratōr or All Ruler. I do not think the significance of this development has been fully appreciated; when the same iconography is used in earlier icons or coin imagery it does not carry the label Pantokratōr.[41] It is only when this image is introduced to its new location in the dome that it acquires the special name of Pantokratōr. It is as if the image, by virtue of being placed in the concavity of the dome, acquired a new meaning, and that new meaning demanded a new title.

The new title Pantokratōr has a long history and its use in the iconography of the dome inevitably carries with it the overtones of its long history. It is important to notice first of all that the earliest Christian use of the term Pantokratōr does not apply to Christ at all but strictly to God the Father.[42] Throughout the Septuagint version of the Old Testament the full Hebrew expression for God, "Yahweh elohai Sebaoth" (which usually comes across into English as "the Lord God of hosts") is represented in Greek by "Kyrios ho theos ho pantokratōr." Pantokratōr, then, is first of all a proper name of God the Father. The appropriation of the names of the Father to the Son is the accomplishment of the first council of Nicaea (324), which declared the Son to be of the very same nature as the Father, "Light of Light, true God of true God."

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[40]Nicholas Cabasilas, *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, trans. J.M. Hussey and P.A. McNulty (London, 1966), 91.

[41]Jame Timken Matthews, "The Byzantine Use of the Title Pantocrator," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 44 (1978), 442-62.

[42]Carmelo Capizzi, *Pantokratōr: Saggio d'esegesi letterarioiconografica* (Rome, 1964).

Grabar points out, the coin image of the Pantokratōr is essentially meant to underscore the *pietas* of the emperor.[33] On the reverse we find Christ's vicar, the emperor himself, with the inscription "Iustinianus servus Christi", "Justinian, the servant of Christ". It is significant that the Pantokratōr is subsequently dropped from imperial coinage only to reappear very suddenly with the coming of Michael III and the Macedonians, exactly contemporary with its first appearance in dome decoration.[34] I propose, therefore, that the appearance of the Pantokratōr in the dome should not be described as an abbreviation of Ascension iconography but as an outright substitution of an already well-defined iconographic type for the Ascension or whatever other images may have preceded it in dome situations.

Demus is correct in emphasizing the non-narrative nature of the Pantokratōr image; but if the image represents the victory of idea over event one still must ask what is the *idea* that has won out. Did Byzantines go on repeating this image for centuries from end to end of the empire simply for want of imagination, or was it, as I like to believe, because they found so much meaning in it? If the iconography is so simple that it defies discursive analysis, can we not at least say something about its psychological impact on the viewer? How was the viewer expected to react to the image? Is Christ's commanding gaze meant to be stern or gracious, should we tremble at the vision or melt with joy; are we being threatened by the Lord or invited? Western art historians have consistently found a terrible severity in the Pantokratōr. To Talbot Rice the Pantokratōr of Daphni is "not the tender human Jesus of Western thought, but rather a strange awesome figure akin to the Old Testament Jehovah."[35] Similarly Diehl commented, "In effect, this is no longer the Christ of the Gospel, the sweet and tender Savior; it is the Creator, the master of the world, the Pantokratōr."[36] To the contemporary Western eye it is a remote, uncompromising figure pronouncing harsh sentence on the world. But is that the way it was regarded by the Byzantine beholder?

Now it is a cardinal rule of modern scholarship that one is not allowed to overstep the discipline in which one has been certified, and an art historian should therefore not try to speak about psychology, because only psychologists are allowed to do that. But I am going to break the rule by suggesting that we look at the Pantokratōr for a while as an image of the self in a Jungian sense. The justification or refutation of Carl Jung's theory

[33]André Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Strasbourg, 1936), 19.

[34]Cf. Warwick Wroth, *Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, 2 vols. (London, 1908), pl. XLIX. I interpret the inscription of Basil I (867-86) in Hagia Sophia as attestation of the introduction of an image of the Pantokratōr in the dome of the church. Cf. Cyril Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington, 1962), 63-66.

[35]David Talbot Rice, *Art of the Byzantine Era* (New York, 1963), 90.

[36]Charles Diehl, *Manuel d'art Byzantin* (Paris, 1910), 456.

of archetypes and the collective unconscious I will leave to psychologists; I would like to observe, however, that many of his reflections on the *mandala* as an image of the self have a counterpart that he was evidently quite unaware of in the image of the Pantokratōr in the dome.[37] His observations on how such a symbol works are to a certain extent borne out by historical sources touching on the image we are analyzing.

The Sanskrit word *mandala* means circle, and the term is used to describe a ritual circle made for contemplation.[38] In Indian art the circle is occupied by Buddha or Shiva, the timeless beginning of creation, and the circle is placed within a square containing the four opposite directions of the created world. Now, I don't imagine that the image of the Pantokratōr derives from Buddhist *mandalas*, but nothing could be more obvious than the fact that the Byzantine composition places the image of timeless Christ within a circle and the circle is within a square which is alligned with the four directions of creation (Fig. 4). It is also abundantly clear that the end of the Christian life is identification with Christ; Christ is the true self that the Christian is to clothe himself in. The Pantokratōr in the dome, I would conclude, is not the Old Testament Jehovah, nor is it Christ as judge, nor is it Christ as remote cosmic ruler; it is Christ who is so close to the viewer that he is inside him, for it is the true self, whole and complete, which the Christian is always becoming.

That is my theory. But does the theory work? Does it fit the situation or explain any of the attendant phenomena? In the first place one must consider the location of the image and its liturgical circumstances. For while the placement of the image in the dome removes it from everyday use as an icon, it places it in direct relation to the action that takes place under the dome. The central space of Byzantine architecture, over which the image of the Pantokratōr presides, is basically the congregation's space, it is the place of their participation in the Divine Liturgy, culminating in their reception of Holy Communion. Communion is the goal of Christian life, for it effects by sacrament the transformation of the communicant into Christ. At the moment of communion the priest calls out, "The holy to the holy," meaning the *holy* gifts of the Body and Blood of Christ are now offered to the *holy* members of the church. To this the response of the choir is, "One is holy, one is Lord, Jesus Christ, in the glory of God the Father. Amen," implying that the many members of the church are holy only insofar as they are assimilated into the one holy Lord in Communion.[39]

[37]Carl G. Jung, *Mandala Symbolism: The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, *Collected Works*, 9, part 1. Jung returns to mandala symbolism often in his work; cf. *Psychology and Religion* (New Haven, 1938), 66-70; or cf. Jung's commentary in Richard Wilhelm, *The Secret of the Golden Flower* (New York, 1932).

[38]Giuseppe Tucci, *The Theory and Practice of the Mandala, With Special Reference to the Modern Psychology of the Subconscious* (London, 1961).

[39]F.W. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (London, 1896), 341.

While the understanding of how the Father and the Son share names must have been rather recondite theology, the meaning of the term Pantokratōr was made widely available to the laity in catechetical explanations of the Creed. The first article of the Creed which in English reads, "I believe in one God, the Father *almighty*," in Greek employs the term Pantokratōr, literally all-ruler. When Gregory of Nyssa attempts to explain this term he refers to God's work of encompassing and sustaining all things in their existence. God, he said, is Pantokratōr, "because he holds the orb of the earth in his palm, and he measures the depth of the sea with his hand; he includes in himself every spiritual creature in order that all might remain in existence, ruled by his all-containing power."[43] The same line of thought appears in Pseudo Denis. God is called Pantokratōr, "because all things reside in him, he contains and embraces all,...he produces all things out of himself as a source that holds all and draws all things back to himself as a support that maintains all, he holds the universe as an all-container,...not allowing anything to slip away or be lost from place in its perfect abode."[44]

The name Pantokratōr, therefore, did not suggest to the Byzantine viewer a remote cosmic governor propelling the spheres of heaven; rather it suggests a "blanket" Christ, a "wrap-around" Christ, the Christ who is closer to the viewer than the air he inhabits. This is what makes the term so very appropriate to the placement of the image in the dome, for the curving cup of the dome suggests ever so graphically the all-encompassing embrace of the Lord. This, I theorize, is why the term came to be associated with the image only when the image was assigned this special location. The Byzantine viewer looking on the image of the Pantokratōr in the dome saw himself engulfed in Christ.

I have left to the last one of the most telling pieces of evidence for reading the Pantokratōr image as the Christ with whom the viewer was invited to identify himself. The twelfth-century description of Nicholas Mesarites of the mosaics of the Holy Apostles Church in Constantinople contains the fullest and most personal account we have of a Byzantine viewer's reactions to the Pantokratōr image.[45]

> This dome, starting at its very base, exhibits an image of the God-man Christ looking down, as it were, from the rim of heaven toward the floor of the church and everything that is in it. He is not full-length and entire, and this, I think, is a very profound conception that the artist has had in his mind and has expressed by means of his art to the unhurried spectator. First, methinks, because at present our knowledge of things concerning Christ and His ways is but partial, as in a riddle or in a glass...

[43]*Contra Eunomium*, *PG* 45, 524.
[44]*De divinis nominibus*, 10, *PG* 3, 936-37.
[45]Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 232.

The fact that Christ appears only partially might be paralleled to the fact that the self, in Jung's use of the term, is only partially known, for the self includes the realms of the unconscious as well as the conscious. Mesarites continues:

> ...second, because the God-man is going to appear to us from heaven once again at the time of his Second Coming to earth, and the time until that happens has not yet entirely elapsed.

Clearly to Mesarites the Pantokratōr is not Christ the judge. The Christian lives in the "in-between" times, the period between Christ's first coming as savior and his second coming as judge. Looking up into the dome he sees into eternity where his true self has its origin and destination. The third reason given for the bust figure of Christ is the most extraordinary of all. We see only half the figure, Mesarites says,

> because He dwells in heaven in the bosom of his Father, and wishes to associate with men on earth together with His Father, according to the saying, "I and my Father will come and make our abode with him." Wherefore He may be seen, to quote her who sings, looking forth through the windows, leaning down to his navel through the lattice which is near the summit of the dome, after the manner of ardent lovers.

In a bold figure of speech borrowed from the Song of Solomon, Mesarites imagines Christ looking at men through a window, burning with a lover's desire to be united with his beloved. The Pantokratōr is the Christ who enters into communion with the faithful beholder.

* * *

These three categories of images that we have reviewed by no means exhaust the range of image uses in Eastern Christendom. Images were also employed as an exegetical tool, especially in the setting of manuscript illumination, and many images were reputed to be curative and so had a medical use. But such uses have close parallels in the West. The three categories we have examined illustrate the extraordinary boldness and confidence with which art was used in the East. The East Christian expected a great deal from his images. Whether as an instrument of contemplation to aid in centering the mind on the mysteries of the faith, or as a medium of converse and communication with the spiritual world, or as a mystical identification with Christ, the image had a psychological power which it is difficult for us to understand.

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